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THE TRUTH ABOUT GERMAN EXPANSION.

BY BARON VON SPECK-STERNBURG, IMPERIAL GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

ESPECIALLY during the last two years it has been noticed by those interested in the world's development that a number of papers of Western Europe have circulated reports that the independence of the two small states of Holland and Belgium is jeopardized in consequence of the war spirit and lust for territory alleged to exist in Germany. The reports to which I refer seek also to interest the American people by asserting that the underlying reason for Germany's purpose to acquire the Netherlands arises out of her ambition to possess territory in the Western Hemisphere. The island of Curaçao in the Caribbean Sea is pointed to as a constant object of our keen solicitude. Should Germany, it is stated, succeed in annexing the Netherlands, her colonies naturally will pass with the mother country.

In an article printed in the number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1906, "The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements," I have already given a clear *exposé* of Germany's policy in the Southern Hemisphere, and proved that there is not a shadow of truth in the attacks directed against it by political calumniators.

Even politicians who cannot ignore the conspicuous fact that the German Emperor is an enthusiastic advocate of the Peace

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Movement; that the German Government for thirty-seven years —that is, ever since the great national struggle of the years 1870-1871—has striven always for peace, and always has been less active than any other country in the direction of expansion; that the German nation has no other wish than pacifically to mind its own business; even such politicians frequently believe, or profess to believe,—in spite of Germany's love of peace, which, ever since the German Empire came into existence, has been demonstrated by history to be an incontestable fact—that this peace-loving Germany ultimately, by force of circumstances or logical development, will be coerced into annexing Holland and the Flemish part of Belgium, containing the great port of Antwerp.

Usually it has been stated that Germany has an annual increase in population of 800,000, that these new masses must be supported by manufactories, and that the German Empire will thus be forced, with or against its will, into expansion, in order to procure the raw material and to establish the requisite markets for its industrial growth. The annexation of Holland and Flemish Belgium, containing Antwerp, is described as a mere preliminary necessary to make possible such measures of expansion. Germany must enlarge its maritime basis, and should have control of the Lower Rhine and its harbors. To the alien, these arguments may seem plausible enough. Whoever is acquainted with existing conditions, however, knows that, though seemingly plausible, this is not the truth.

In the first place, it is not true that colonial expansion is a necessity for Germany, resulting from its industrial growth. The impetus given to German commerce and German manufactures is to be ascribed far more to the increase in the buying capacity of other nations—England, France, Russia or America—than to all the German colonies combined. Germany needs no colonies; what she wants is merely free competition on all seas, the open door, and the right to co-operate freely on an equal footing with all other commercial and industrial nations, in opening up new and as yet unopened districts and markets. Hence the principle of the open door is the leading motive of the foreign policy pursued by Germany. It is the red thread that winds itself through the Eastern-Asiatic, the Oriental and the Moroccan policy of the German Empire. The high quality of all German products obviates the necessity of unfair preferences accruing to political

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power. All they need is a fair chance to compete on equal terms with other countries. The world is large enough, and rich enough, in still dormant possibilities, to admit of a pacific co-operation by all nations in this great work.

It is equally absurd to allege that the annexation of Holland and Antwerp is a necessary preliminary to our colonial expansion. To have the harbors and ports of the Rhine controlled by foreign Powers, naturally, would be insupportable to Germany. The entire railroad and waterway system of Germany radiates towards the two main commercial centres, Bremen and Hamburg, which, as current development has shown, are fully equal to meet all demands of traffic, and are capable of further growth. The Rhine, it is true, is an important and, for the highly developed Rhine Province, an indispensable waterway. The export interests along the Rhine always naturally will prefer the shorter and cheaper all-water route on the Rhine to the more expensive and circuitous railway route *viâ* Bremen. It is, however, a matter of complete indifference to Germany whether the vessels on the Rhine, carrying the products of the German Rhine countries to the ocean, on their journey pass along banks under the dominion of Germany, Holland or Belgium, for the traffic on the Rhine is free of all payments, obstacles or restrictions, and could not be more free even if Germany controlled the adjacent districts. And this freedom has been secured abundantly by the so-called "Rhine-Traffic-Treaties," entered into and upon by the interested states.

The ocean commerce, also, in no wise suffers from the transportation of the Rhine products on the Rhine, as these German goods are reshipped on German ocean steamers from the ports at the mouths of the river.

Hence the reasons which supposedly would impel Germany to annex the two neighboring states are deduced from false premises.

If we view the matter more closely, however, and, independently of the particular arguments which I advanced in the introduction, give consideration to the situation of these three states in general, we find that no reasons exist why Germany should be solicitous for annexation, or even for a union of economic interests. On the other hand, there are quite a number of reasons why Germany should oppose annexation or a union of economic interests. Holland produces none of the raw material required

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by Germany for her manufactures. Belgium produces merely coal and iron, which is the specific raw material of which Germany possesses a superfluity, and which is practically inexhaustible. Moreover, the coal and iron mines of Belgium have led to a splendid development of the iron industry of that country, which is protected by a tariff, and manufactures for its own consumption and principally for trans-Atlantic export. If the German-Belgium boundaries were to be wiped out, the products of this industry would depress the German internal market, which, at present, is controlled by the German iron industry. Conversely, the German competitive products would depress the Belgian internal market. Thus, German as well as Belgian manufacturers possibly may desire an increased tariff—certainly not its abolition. The same condition that obtains in the iron market prevails in other competitive industries of the two countries.

In consequence, no one in Germany or Belgium considers a tariff-union of the two countries feasible or desirable; and annexation, of which a certain group of foreign political writers would like to make a German bugaboo to frighten Belgium, as a matter of fact, is not seriously contemplated in either state.

The situation is the same in the case of Holland. Holland also does not produce any raw material which German factories could use. Holland is a free-trade country, whose tariff is dependent upon financial, not protective, considerations; and, inasmuch as Germany can derive advantages from the markets of Holland, no tariff-union is desirable. On the contrary, German agriculture stands in great need of the tariff wall between the two countries.

Holland is an agrarian country which imports grain and exports cattle. Unrestricted importation of cattle from Holland, which is now precluded by German sanitary protective measures, would drive the East-German cattle from the markets of the thickly populated West, and seriously injure the agricultural interests of Eastern Germany.

Several years ago, when the boldly conceived canal project of the Prussian Government, which designed to connect the East of Germany with the West, was submitted for approval to the German Diet, the strong conservative party and the other representatives of agrarian interests successfully fought the bill, because they believed such a waterway would favor the influx of agrarian

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products, and thus impair the agricultural interests of the East. The same objections, in a much higher degree, would militate against a removal of tariff boundaries between Germany and Holland.

It may be argued, of course, that, in the absence of commercial reasons, there may be political reasons rendering annexation desirable. Under existing conditions the Netherlands, which at one time were the classic fighting-ground of Europe, are no longer geographically of strategic importance. In the days when England engaged in Continental wars, and its armies fought side by side with the Germans against Louis XIV and Napoleon I, the Netherlands were the inevitable battle-field. But those times are past. Even if, contrary to all expectations, peace on the Continent should ever seriously be menaced, the Netherlands are completely out of the scope of the probable battle-ground. Therefore, strategic reasons are likewise untenable. Is it, then, to be supposed that the free and independent Netherlands constitute a political menace for Germany,—a menace which Germany logically would wish to anticipate by annexation?

No sensible person in Germany or in the Netherlands believes that any political combination could be concluded which, in a European conflict, could force the Netherlands into a coalition with England or France, directed against Germany. Only total ignorance of the condition of both nations, of their racial and historical relationship, the interests they have in common, can presuppose that the free and independent Netherlands can ultimately or eventually work a political injury to Germany. The initiated know that Germany is assured of the neutrality of the Netherlands, and Germany requires nothing but this neutrality.

Moreover, the persons who persist in attributing to Germany covetousness in the way of annexation, in regard to Holland, or Denmark, or the German provinces of Austria-Hungary—in spite of the fact that the history of German politics constitutes a monument to the contrary—totally misconstrue the spirit and purpose of the Constitution of the German Empire. Germany is not a federal state into which other states can be readily incorporated. The individual states, forming this federal state, are of greatly varying dimensions and importance, and consequently are represented in a congress of the united governments,—the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)*—with a varying number of votes.

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Prussia, the largest of these states, has the most votes, and thus retains in the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)* the historical leadership which it has enjoyed since the Empire was founded. Upon this Prussian cornerstone the Empire is reared. The relation of the states to each other forms a tenacious, but complicated, equipoise-system, which, through being thus complicated, assumes a certain rigidity. The introduction of other states into the system, consequently, would not be a matter of small moment and would not be nearly as simple as the casual observer might suppose. The introduction of such a foreign body would lead many of the individual states to demand a reorganization of representation by votes in the Federal Council *(Bundesrath)*. Such a reorganization, like every decisive modification of a Constitution, would at best be a most difficult and hazardous undertaking.

One must, therefore, ascribe to ignorance of German conditions the attitude of some chauvinistic papers of Western Europe in deliberately attempting to undermine Germany's reputation, particularly in the United States, and to inspire with fear the Danes, the Bohemians, the Austrians, the Hollanders, on the ground of a possibly impending union of their states with the German Empire, a union of which the German Empire is not in the least desirous, and which in Germany itself, even if desired, would encounter well-nigh insuperable difficulties.

I certainly do not believe that the fairy-tales of annexation originate in Belgium or Holland. Their sources are to be found elsewhere. The feeling of safety and assurance which each of these two states, in view of existing conditions, has in relation to the other, and logically must have, is exemplified in the close relations existing between them. These have become traditional. The closeness of these relations is guaranteed amply by parallel interests on both sides and by cultural and mental motives.

I believe the importance of the mental element in politics is habitually underestimated. Depending upon the racial divergences of different nations, these mental view-points may manifest themselves in various directions and in varying degrees of intensity. In general, it is safe to say that the peoples of the Germanic race are less swayed than others by momentary moods and by the elusive sentiments of the imagination; rather are they moved by a certain placid, historic continuity, a kind of loyalty

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to their own history. Their development is not fitful and arbitrary, but calmer and more direct. They refrain from violating the traditions of their own history. Germans and Hollanders, independently of the racial relationship of their sentiments and their characteristics, possess a common mental history. In spite of sentimental longings for the South, the German artist ever remained aware of an abyss betwixt himself and the Southern masters, an abyss which even his sincerest admiration and most unswerving devotion could never completely bridge. There is no such abyss between himself and the Hollander. The atmosphere which they breathe, and which permeates their very souls, is the same. This may be of no importance in politics, but it serves as an illustration of a general unity of sentiment which evinces itself in every phase of life, and which reacts upon politics by far more than a materialistic age may be inclined to believe.

Upon each page of German history are inscribed the annals of the Netherlands, commemorating the same unquenchable thirst for freedom and independence that inspired ourselves. The mental activities of both nations have in particular been closely allied for centuries. The philosophy and literature of one country reacted upon the other. The two nations worked hand in hand.

Politically the same condition prevailed. I will not refer to earlier history, the assistance of the German States during the Spanish occupation, which the Electors of Brandenburg rendered the Netherlands, during the wars of Louis XIV. The history of the last century also perpetuates a similar unity of political interests and actions. The existence of the new kingdom of the Netherlands dates from the spring of the year 1814, when the Prussian troops forced the French to beat a retreat from Holland and Belgium. During the Congress of Vienna, when the Cabinets of the four Powers which successfully had combated Napoleon,—England, Austria, Prussia and Russia,—planned a reorganization of European affairs which had been put into such sad disarray by the French Emperor, these four Powers determined to establish the unified kingdom of Holland,—which was to include Belgium,—as a protective measure against a possibly recurring French desire for territorial aggrandizement; and it was then that the Prussian King, acting in accord with England's ministers, who desired to make amends for the loss of the two Dutch

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colonies of Ceylon and the Cape by increasing the territory of the Netherlands on the Continent, served the best interests of the Netherlands because of the traditional friendship which had existed always between the two nations. In the year 1830, it was again the King of Prussia who gave the French to understand that any attempt on their part to annex Belgium, by taking advantage of the Brussels Revolution, would result speedily in war with Prussia. Thus independence was secured to the Belgians. At that time the Powers made a treaty, declaring the Kingdom of Belgium, which had been separated from the Netherlands, to be a neutral state. The object of this was to protect the little country from falling a prey to the territorial covetousness of some other nation, the case being similar to the episode of 1815, when the Allied Powers deemed it advisable to fortify strongly the western frontier of the Netherlands.

In the sixties, when Bismarck was hard at work on the unification of Germany, Napoleon III repeatedly offered the great German statesman to withdraw completely from interference in German internal affairs, in return for Belgium. This proposition Bismarck never even considered. Nor were the Belgians unmindful of the fact that, had Napoleon III been the victor at Sedan, they would have forfeited their independence.

However, I do not wish to overemphasize these matters, which belong to the past and to a wholly different political situation; nor do I wish to advance the claim that the Belgians entertain in regard to the pacific France of to-day fears similar to those which agitated them in the days of Napoleon III. Affairs have undergone a general reconstruction since then, and even the liveliest historical reminiscences scarcely would restrain Holland and Belgium from giving a different direction to their apprehensions, if there were any legitimate reasons for so doing. Nevertheless, the recollection of the intimate association of the peoples of Germany and the Netherlands and Germany and Belgium, during the past, will, in the absence of every legitimate reason, prevent these nations from imputing to each other enmity and ill will, but will promote instead an eminently sane, mutual cordiality, which, even if merely a matter of sentiment, will have effect upon their action and affairs.

I can only assume, therefore, that the baseless fear pertaining to a possible desire on Germany's part to annex Belgium or Hol-

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land certainly does not emanate from Belgium or Holland, but from some place where persons, unacquainted with Germany and the Netherlands, blindly believe that the big German Empire simply must be possessed of an ambition to annex its two smaller neighbors.

It is possible that, after the war of 1870-1871, when Germany, which had been powerless and torn by centuries of dissensions, and which all Europe had been accustomed to consider a *quantité négligeable,* suddenly sprang to the front as a powerful, unified realm, some Hollanders and Belgians, viewing the unaccustomed situation, began to feel strange apprehensions lest the mighty, young state would abuse and not merely use its newly won strength. These apprehensions, however, soon crumbled away, and disappeared as a concomitant manifestation of a transition period.

To-day, however, the home of such apprehensions is neither Belgium nor Holland. Several years ago, a group of writers, inspired by influential politicians of some Powers of Western Europe, started a virulent campaign for a Holland-Belgium Alliance, indicated to be the only means of saving these states from threatened annexation by the German Emperor. It is possible that such politicians promulgated these views in good faith, and believed themselves to be acting in the interests of their own countries, by holding up the German bugaboo to all the small states and frightening them into seeking the protection of their own altruistic and less dangerous friendship.

At all events, the best refutation of the needlessness of this dread of annexation is the fact that the German bugaboo is not "made in Holland or Belgium," but is a strictly imported article.

STERNBURG.

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A PARCELS POST.

BY GEORGE V. L. MEYER, POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

THE public has come to a realization of the importance of the legislation recommended by the Post Office Department in connection with the extension of the parcels post, and the demand for authentic information is widespread and constantly increasing. This is very gratifying, as the proposed changes intimately affect the entire population, and every citizen should know just what the effect will be.

In the first place, no radical changes are contemplated in the system. Two distinct propositions have been made. Both of them must be considered in the light of logical developments, demanded by the growth and conditions of the country—as forward steps, in scientific service, not as changes or a reorganization in the present machinery. They can be better discussed separately.

The present rate for the transmission of fourth-class matter through the mails is sixteen cents a pound (one cent an ounce or fraction thereof), and the limit of weight is four pounds. Under our postal treaties, the rate from any American post-office to twenty-nine foreign countries is twelve cents a pound, and the limit of weight to twenty-four of these countries is eleven pounds. The Department has simply recommended that our citizens be permitted to despatch parcels to each other, in our own country, at as liberal a rate as that at which they are allowed to send them to a foreign country. So far as this affects a parcels post, it means a general increase of seven pounds in the weight limit and a reduction of four cents a pound in the rate; and herein lies the direct benefit which will accrue to the people as a whole. For parcels weighing less than one pound the suggested rates are: For one ounce, one cent; over one ounce and not exceeding three ounces, two cents; over three and not exceeding four ounces, three

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cents; over four and not exceeding five ounces, four cents; over five and not exceeding six ounces, five cents; over six and not exceeding eight ounces, six cents; over eight and not exceeding twelve ounces, nine cents; over twelve ounces and not exceeding one pound, twelve cents.

In this as in many other matters the makeshift method which from time to time has been adopted to meet wants of the moment has left us far behind other countries, older in experience and practice. As to what has been accomplished by our contemporaries the following data are of great interest:

Great Britain: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; for first pound, 6 cents; for each additional pound, 2 cents.

New Zealand and Commonwealth of Australia: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; for first pound, 12 cents; for each additional pound, 6 cents.

Germany: Weight limit, 11 pounds; for all parcels conveyed not more than ten geographic miles 6 cents, and 13 cents for greater distances. If parcels are more than 11 pounds in weight, for each additional 2 pounds carried ten miles, 1 cent; twenty miles, 3 cents; fifty miles, 5 cents; one hundred miles, 8 cents, etc.

Austria: Limit of weight, 110 pounds, except for parcels containing gold or silver coin, 143 pounds. Up to 11 pounds the rates are, for the first ten miles 6 cents, and 12 cents for greater distances, etc.

France: Limit of weight, about 22 pounds. Postage rates—up to 7 pounds, 12 cents, delivered at the railway station, and 17 cents delivered at a residence; from 7 to 11 pounds, 16 cents at a station, and 21 cents at residence; from 11 to 22 pounds, 25 cents at a station, and 30 cents at a residence.

Belgium: Limit of weight, about 132 pounds. Unwieldy parcels are charged 50 per cent. in addition to the following rates for any distance: Up to 11 pounds, 10 cents—or, if by express trains, 16 cents; up to 22 pounds, 12 cents—or, if by express trains, 20 cents; for each additional 22 pounds, 2 cents—or, if by express trains, 10 cents. Fee for delivering at residence, 6 cents.

Italy: Limit of weight, 11 pounds. For ordinary parcels, greatest size in any direction, 2 feet, except rolls, which may measure 40 inches in length by 8 inches in thickness. Postage rates for a parcel not exceeding 7 pounds, 12 cents; and 20 cents for a parcel exceeding that weight. A parcel which exceeds 2 feet in any direction, but does not exceed 5 feet, is admitted to the mails as an "unwieldy" parcel and is charged, in addition to the above rates, 6 cents if it does not weigh more than 7 pounds, and 10 cents if it exceeds that weight.

The Netherlands: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; greatest size, 1,525 cubic inches, or 40 inches in any direction. Postage rates: 6 cents up to 2 pounds; 8 cents from 2 to 7 pounds; 10 cents from 7 to 11 pounds.

Chile: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; must not measure more than 2

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feet in any direction. Postage rates: 10 cents, if a parcel does not weigh more than 7 pounds; 17 cents if it weighs more.

Cuba: Limit of weight, 11 pounds; greatest size, 3 feet 6 inches in length, by 2 feet 6 inches in width. Postage rate: 10 cents a pound up to 5 pounds; and 6 cents for each additional pound.

It will be seen that the rates of many foreign countries are materially lower even than those proposed for the United States, and that the limit of weight is often very much greater. It would be impracticable to inaugurate such a system of zone rates here, as exists in Germany, however, nor could the low rates of Great Britain be maintained. The extent of our territory and the diffusion of our population must receive due consideration, and this has been recognized in the recommendations of the Department. Financially, these recommendations rest upon a safe basis. The mean cost of railroad transportation for hauling fourth-class mail matter from coast to coast, at the time the present railroad compensation was adjusted, was 6.4 cents a pound. Since then, reductions have been made which place the average cost per pound at approximately 5.5 cents. Based upon the average length of haul, the following account will give a correct idea of the result of parcels post at 12 cents a pound, estimated by the ton:

Expenditures		Revenue	
Railroad charge, per ton	$ 29.70	Postage	$240.00
Labor, " "	103.87		
Other conveyances, " "	15.70		
Net income, " "	90.73		
	$240.00		

The cost of railroad transportation is, of course, the most variable item, and the amount shown is that which would be paid for an average haul, which, as near as can be determined, is about 540 miles. The net income would be sufficient to pay for the transportation of the ton for an additional 1,640 miles.

The railroads of great Britain are allowed 55 per cent. of the gross receipts on the parcels they carry; but this means that the parcels must be separated from the other mail, which seriously hampers economical administration and also involves a cumbersome and expensive system of accounting and auditing. These disadvantages have been avoided in the proposed plan for a parcels post in the United States. Any augmentation of expense, here, will simply come from very long hauls. That there is more

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than a sufficient margin to cover all of that, has been shown in the foregoing table.

Heretofore, parcels-post measures have been of a nature making it evident that they were advocated by selfish interests to such an extent as to cause, among certain classes, a very unfavorable attitude toward any legislation bearing upon the subject.

That public interest in the present measures is rapidly increasing as the subject becomes better understood is aptly illustrated in the following communication:

"OMAHA, NEBRASKA, *October 25, 1907.*

"GEORGE V. L. MEYER,

"Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR SIR,—

"Your communication of October 18 received, for which I thank you. I am sending you herewith some editorial comments, collected from a number of trade papers. These may be of interest to you. The 'Trade Exhibit,' I am pleased to state, is the first trade paper in the United States to approve your position as to a parcel post. During the past four years I believe I have circulated more antiparcel-post literature than any other individual in the United States. All my work has been directed against the establishment of any parcel-post system that would be unfair to the retail merchants, and which might be considered a subsidy to the mail-order system of business, and by making a rate much lower than cost of transportation to the Government would tend to concentrate business in districts where the price of labor is the lowest.

"I inclose you a little pamphlet which I prepared two years ago. It is only one of the many like articles that I prepared for circulation, and which formed the basis of the antiparcel-post articles appearing in numerous trade journals. I also delivered many addresses before commercial bodies and merchants' organizations in Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas and other Western States. I would still continue to oppose a widening of our parcel-post system, did I believe that it would be injurious to those sections of our country which are now undergoing development.

"After a most careful study of the plan you propose, I cannot discover a single objection that can be based upon sound economics. Rather a parcel-post extension, as you propose, will be helpful to enterprising retailers, and will assist in the building up of home industries in the so-called agricultural towns. Should any effort be made, when your proposition be laid before Congress, to have a lower rate instituted than that which you propose, I will use what little influence I have in opposing such a move.

"Assuring you what little support I can give to the plan that you propose will be given, I beg to remain, yours respectfully,

"OMAHA TRADE EXHIBIT,

"Per D. M. CARR, *Editor.*"

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This letter forms a fitting introduction to the consideration of the second proposition—the establishment of a distinctly local parcels post entirely separate from the general parcels post, and confined to packages received upon a rural route or at the distributing post-office thereof, and delivered upon the same rural route or another emanating from the same distributing post-office. The rate recommended is five cents for the first pound and two cents for each additional pound or fractional part thereof up to eleven pounds (making twenty-five cents for a package of the maximum weight). The rates for packages weighing less than one pound are: For two ounces or less, one cent; over two and up to four ounces, two cents; over four and up to eight ounces, three cents; over eight and up to twelve ounces, four cents; over twelve ounces and up to one pound, five cents.

This recommendation is founded upon the broad ground of the ability of the Government to render the service at a profit, yet with great advantage to the farmer, the retail merchant and other patrons of the rural routes. The necessary machinery, 38,215 rural routes covered by carriers already employed and equipment already in operation, is at hand. There are approximately fifteen millions of people served on these routes; the vast possibilities of the rural service are, therefore, apparent. The Post Office Department has simply suggested their utilization. It is estimated that if but three packages of the maximum weight were handled each trip, on the rural routes now established, the resulting net revenue, even at the low rates given, would more than wipe out the present deficit of the postal service. It would be practically all gain with the exception of the amount paid to postmasters on account of cancellations.

In the operation of this local parcels post there would be no railroad transportation, and therein lies the element which will forever defeat any attempt to make the local rate universal.

There, also, is found a reply to those who have attempted to maintain that the parcels post on rural routes would be made the entering wedge for parcels-post rates more favorable to the large mail-order houses.

To the assertion that mail-order houses would assemble their orders and ship them to suitable points, there to be distributed over the rural routes at the local rate, the reply is that the Department advocates a provision which will prevent any such use

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of the routes. It is, however, pertinent to note that, even in the absence of such a prohibition, any systematic attempt upon the part of a mail-order house to deliver its wares thus would necessitate the employment of many thousands of local representatives. Their catalogues show pretty plainly that a large part of their success is attributed to their remarkably low selling expense, and that the absence of any sort of agents is the principal feature of their argument in accounting for the supposedly low prices of their goods.

The special local rates shown, it may be added, apply only to parcels offered by merchants or dealers whose regular places of business are on rural delivery routes and by residents on such routes.

That the establishment of such a local rural parcels post would be of material and manifold advantage to the retail merchant in competition with the mail-order houses is seen at once, as the latter, at the proposed general parcels-post rate of twelve cents a pound, would be obliged to pay $1.32 for sending an eleven-pound package to a rural route patron, a difference in favor of the local storekeeper of about ten cents a pound. The retail merchants are rapidly learning this phase of the situation, which has been misrepresented to them by opponents of the plan, and as soon as they fully comprehend the measures recommended they lend their hearty support and co-operation.

The local rural parcels post would enable the farmer to obtain many of his requirements when it is impossible for him to make a special trip to town, thus sparing him inconvenience. He could order certain goods from country merchants by mail or telephone. By thus facilitating consumption, the trade of the country merchant would be increased, and any betterment in the condition of this very numerous class would be reflected in a general increase of trade to the jobber and the wholesaler.

Some retail merchants have said that they do not want the farmer to stay at home—that it is necessary he should frequently come to their stores and view their wares in order that the greatest possible sales may be made. The farmer would, no doubt, go to town quite often enough for the purposes of trade. His bulky produce and other heavy articles would not be handled through the mails. He would be saved, however, from making an emergency trip, perhaps of considerable length and in bad weather,

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to obtain a few pounds of some article which, though urgently required, he could wait for until the rural carrier reached his gate.

This leads, finally, to the consideration of a feature of the proposed local parcels post which is too important to be overlooked. It would inevitably tend toward the improvement of the roads. Improved roads mean improved conditions and better facilities for the farmer in transporting his goods to market. The establishment of rural routes has already, especially in the South, increased the value of farms, and another advance should come from the inauguration of the special local parcels post.

Recent reports from 54,000 post-offices show that the average weight of fourth-class matter (parcels) handled was one-third of a pound, although the weight limit is four pounds. It should be borne in mind that there is a distinction between expressage and parcels post in this country, because postal parcels are practically not delivered except when the weight is light. Under the present postal regulations where the parcel is large or heavy a notice is sent to the addressee to call for it. In the case of rural delivery the parcels, of course, would be delivered to the rural boxes by the carriers, as is now the practice.

In illustration of the misunderstanding which exists as to what the proposed legislation would do in the way of altering the postal laws and regulations, I am glad to have this opportunity of inviting attention to the fact that a resolution of the Richmond Commercial Club, of Richmond, Indiana, appeared in the "Congressional Record" of January 7th, to the effect that "a certain mail-order house will save $40,000 a year alone on mailing their catalogue by this reduction." Similar statements have been made in various parts of the country. There need be no fear of this, for catalogues are classified as third-class matter and are mailable to-day at eight cents a pound. The proposed parcels post rates do not affect them in any way.

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

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THE PROSPECT OF AERIAL NAVIGATION.

BY SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D.

SOME twenty-five years ago, when the building of our new Navy was just commencing, the writer was conversing with a friend whose official duty it was to provide for the armament of the new ships. I remarked that there was one point connected with ordnance about which physical science might have something to suggest. This indicated the lines along which efforts to improve the gun could be most hopefully directed. The longer the gun the more advantageous it was in theory, when the relations between muzzle-velocity, explosive power and weight of gun were worked out. The Chief replied that all experience up to that time had shown that nothing was to be gained by increasing the length of the gun. I admitted that this might well be the result so far as practical experience had yet gone, but that, if so, it only showed that the art of making powder burn in the right way had not been perfected, and that when this was done the principle of lengthening the gun would come into play. I strongly suspect that he looked upon this view as practical men commonly do upon the results of purely mathematical theory; yet it was not long before even practical experience succeeded in replacing the old-fashioned "beer-bottle" of the Civil War with the type of gun, forty feet long, more or less, which now projects from the turrets of our battle-ships.

It is now proposed to inquire whether abstract physical science may not have something to say about the methods of aërial navigation to which recent successes, both in ballooning and flying, have given so large a space in the public mind. If it can do nothing more it may at least give us some hints as to the direction which improvement is to take, if such navigation is ever to be a commercial success.

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Every one interested in the subject knows that the vehicles to be used in navigating the air are of two distinct types. One of these is based on the balloon. Its essential feature is that the vehicle must be as a whole lighter than air, so as to be supported in the air by its own buoyancy. This idea is embodied in the dirigible balloon. The other type is that of the flying-machine heavier than air. Several forms of flyer have been proposed, but they all have the common feature of being supported by a rapid movement through the air, on the principle on which a bird flies or soars by means of its wings. The best known and, I believe, the only one that has heretofore been tried with any approach to success, is the aëroplane, which is practically a soaring machine, and which both the Wright Brothers of Ohio and Farman of Paris are engaged in perfecting. The idea of flying like an eagle is so much more captivating than that of ballooning that, for the moment, popular interest is centred upon the vehicle which seems to promise that flying is feasible. The success attained by the dirigible balloon has helped to diffuse the idea that it may be replaced by the aëroplane. Our present purpose is to inquire whether this inference is well founded.

So far as results are concerned, the dirigible balloon is the form which seems to have reached the best measure of success. At least, that is what may be inferred from the flights that were made last autumn in the great competitive trial from St. Louis, which were hundreds of times longer than the Farman or Wright flyer has ever gone. At the same time, it must be confessed that a long step is still to be taken before the dirigible balloon can compete with the railroad in the cheap transportation of passengers and mails, and that the prospect of commercial success is still far in the future. Let us, then, return to the flyer, and inquire whether there is any sound reason to base a hope for its success upon results reached by the dirigible balloon. The fact is that the two types of machine are as radically different as a steamship and locomotive in the principle on which they operate. To see in what the difference consists, let us study the principles at play in the great ocean steamship. The success both of this and of the dirigible balloon grows out of a physical principle, easy of comprehension by any one acquainted with so much of geometry and physics as is taught in the High School: indeed, one which can perhaps be well grasped by any reader who has a common-

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school education. I shall call it the principle of the square and cube. There is no need of putting it into mathematical form; this can be as well done by an illustration from the history of ship-building during the last half century, as by any mathematical statement.

Fifty years ago, a great ocean steamship was about 300 feet long and 35 feet beam, with a tonnage of 3,000 to 4,000, and engines of perhaps 2,000 horse-power. These sufficed to drive the ship at a speed of ten or twelve knots. At that time the builders of such ships might well have doubted whether any of much larger type would prove a commercial success. The warning example of the "Great Eastern," which, immense though it was, had proved a total failure, was fresh in the minds of every shipper. But this experience need not have discouraged a physicist, who would have claimed that the failure was due to some defect in the model of the ship, or in her method of propulsion. Taking the case of a ship propelled by a screw, which had already been proved superior to the paddle-wheel, he might have made this little calculation. Build a ship twice the size of the present one in every dimension; instead of her length being 300 feet, let it be 600, and let her be twice as broad and twice as deep. The cubical dimensions of the proposed ship will then be eight times those of the present one; she will carry eight times the freight, and have room for eight times as many passengers. If her plates are twice as thick, her weight will also be multiplied by eight, but this will probably be unnecessary, as nearly the same thickness of plate will answer for the larger as for the smaller model. You can, if you choose, put in engines of eight times the power without taking up more than their proportional space in the present ship. So far nothing is gained. But mark! The surface which she exposes to the water and the storm is only increased four times. Therefore, if you are satisfied with the speed of the ship you now have, her engines need have only four times their present power, and will therefore fill only half the proportional space in the proposed ship. And you will certainly not need more than four times the number of men to run her. You will, therefore, be able to carry freight at little more than half the cost per ton without lessening the speed. If you aim also at high speed, you can secure it by increasing the power of your engines, and it will then be a purely economic question what combination of

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power and speed will best serve your purpose. You have a range of choice from engines of four times their present power, to those of eight times; the first involves a saving of one-half in the cost of running; the other an increase of speed at the same cost that is now incurred. In a word, physical science shows that the larger you build your ship the more economical she is in the ratio of efficiency to cost of running. The only limits to size are those set by such conditions as the depth of water in harbors and the amount of freight or the number of passengers that can be advantageously carried on a single ship. We thus see that the ocean Leviathan of our time has been developed in strict accord with the traditional laws of geometry and mechanics.

The same principle applies to the dirigible balloon, or any other form of ship that is to float in the air. Double its linear dimensions, make its walls twice as thick if you choose, and you will have eight times the cubical space, and eight times the buoyant power. But you will require only four times the propelling power to drive her through the air with a given speed, and therefore only four times the horse-power in her engines. There is no difficulty in conceiving an ideal ship which would be a commercial success were it not for the practical difficulties in the way of realization. I have a mental image of a structure much larger than any ship that navigates the ocean, say three or four hundred feet in diameter, nearly the same in height, a thousand feet or more in length, built out of rolled sheet steel one-twentieth or one-thirtieth of an inch thick,—inflated with hydrogen gas. Of course, the sheets must be perfectly gas-proof; the slightest crevice in them would be fatal. If the conception in which we are indulging were purely ideal, we should have a tube twenty or thirty feet in diameter, running centrally through the whole length of the ship, which would contain engines, passengers and freight. But we do not propose to indulge in a dream that, even if realized, might not prove a success. The practical difficulty with the inner tube would be that of having it firmly connected with the outer steel skin, and at the same time connecting the whole fabric so that, when the ship rose in the air, the skin would have the necessary flexibility to accommodate itself to the varying pressure and temperature of the air. Passengers, freight and engines must, therefore, be suspended from the ship in much the same way as in the present dirigible balloon. Taking the

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engines and the metal of which they are made just as we now have them, there is little doubt that such a ship as I have described could be driven at a speed ranging from fifty to one hundred miles an hour, and could visit any part of the world not too high above sea-level, including both the poles.

I must beg the reader not to misunderstand this claim in favor of the theoretical possibility of an immense aërial ship. We must distinguish between obstacles to progress placed in our way by nature itself, which can be overcome only by the discovery of some hitherto unknown law of nature, or of some new metal or alloy; and obstacles which arise only from the limitation of our power to solve great mechanical and engineering problems. We are only picturing what results might be reached could we but overcome all practical difficulties. I do not claim that men can ever build this ideal ship. The engineering and constructing difficulties are beyond any ever encountered, the problem of inflation seems nearly insuperable, and even the gas would cost a great fortune. We could not rely upon so vast a surface being soldered without a single flaw. An immense structure would be required to protect so huge and yet feathery a mass from the wind; but I do say that if we could overcome these practical difficulties, so as to actually build and inflate the ship, we should have a successful aërial ship. And I do not believe we shall ever have a commercially successful one until we do. With this claim I turn the subject over to engineers, constructors and others to be handled in their own way.

Now, our principle of the square and cube applies to the aëroplane, and to every form of flying-machine pure and simple; but it is reversed in the application. With every increase in the size of the machine the weight increases as the cube of the linear dimension, always supposing that the model remains the same. Possibly it might not always be necessary to increase the thickness in the same proportion as the length and breadth, but in every case the weight would necessarily increase in a higher ratio than the square of the length or breadth. But, the sustaining power being proportional to the surface, or to the spread of wing, whenever we increase the size of the flyer or of the aëroplane, the sustaining power diminishes relatively to the size. We see this exemplified in the limitations put upon the size and agility of flying animals; the smaller they are, the more easily they fly. There

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is a certain weight, which probably is less than the weight of a man, which no bird can ever exceed.

The principle we have applied does not of course set any precise limit to the weight which a flying-machine may possibly be made to carry. It only says that the advantage in increasing the size and weight continually diminishes. A very small machine, say one less in size than a humming-bird, would carry only the weight of a humming-bird. At the other extreme there is a size,—we cannot say exactly what, but not many yards in length,—beyond which no machine can be made to carry more than its own weight. There is a certain intermediate size where the maximum weight, perhaps that of one or more men, can be carried; and this size can never be exceeded with advantage.

This limitation upon size applies only to the case when we enlarge the machine in all its dimensions—in height as well as in length or breadth. But it has been pointed out by Bell that a general enlargement on one and the same model may be avoided by using a combination of small machines instead of a single large one. This is true to a certain extent; we might almost say that there is no limit to the possible superficial dimensions of a combination of aëroplanes. If we should arrange four separate Farman flyers in two pairs, side by side and end to end, they might possibly perform as well in combination as each would perform separately. The one disadvantage would be that the forward ones might "take the wind" from those behind it. But for this drawback there would be a positive, though small, advantage if they were placed end to end so as to form a train of any length. But, if we attempt to gain an advantage by the substitution of a single large machine for a combination of small ones, drawbacks will at once be encountered which will speedily become insuperable.

In describing the two types of aërial vehicle as quite distinct, it is not implied that no combination of the principles of the two is possible, which may result in a combined machine more advantageous than either. In the case of the dirigible balloon, the difficulties are purely those of construction. In the aëroplane they are inherent in the very theory of the action; but it is quite possible that an attachment to the airship similar in principle to the bilge keel of the ocean steamship may afford the best combination. The question thus raised is one for the inventor, to

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the solution of which the mathematical physicist may be able to contribute after the inventor has worked out a plan. The function of the physicist, therefore, seems worthy of consideration.

In reading, as we all do, of the efforts of inventors during the last twenty years to construct a practicable flying-machine, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they have overlooked the aid that might be afforded them by physical science in enabling them to predict, in advance of costly experiments, whether a given plan would prove successful when tried. An example of what should be done is afforded in the regular work of designing any great seagoing ship. No marine constructor would think of starting with the building of a ship on any other than well-known models until he had made a careful computation of her weight, buoyancy and stability. If he neglected to do this, the result might be that the ship would capsize immediately on being launched. A recent deplorable experience reported from Italy shows that the computation should be made even if the model is the usual one. The calculations in question are, of course, long and intricate, yet they are necessary; and any constructor dispensing with them should be deemed unworthy of his profession.

Now, the performance of any flying-machine of which an exact design is made, showing the dimensions, material and weight of every part, the power of the engines, and the size and form of the propellers, admits of being computed in advance through the known results of experiments on the resistance of air. It is true that the computation cannot be made with the same certainty and precision as in the case of a ship, because the data themselves are not so certain, and there may be difficulty in accurately determining the speed. The computation is also more intricate and involves a wider range of considerations. Yet it is fully within the power of any expert in mathematical physics to make it, and the labor involved in doing so, intricate though the problem is, would be much less than in the case of a great ship. The cost also would be only a small fraction of the money and time spent in making the machine. The laws of force and motion are paramount in the working of all machinery, and the successful man is not the one who disregards them, but he who understands them so well that he is enabled to apply them so as to secure success and avoid failure. But his understanding must be complete—a

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condition which, so far as we can judge from current utterances, is not appreciated by all the inventors of flying-machines who are coming forward. The order of progress is a complete study and appreciation of the abstract principles of force and motion. With these, the conditions can be studied and calculated by a mathematical physicist, and by no one else. When the mathematician has done his work, and made clear what difficulties there are and what conditions may be satisfied, then the inventor may devise some way of avoiding them. But to attempt to avoid them before he appreciates what they are—to go on before he knows whether he will or will not succeed—is a policy certain to result in failure. To the optimistic public, it might seem that the success of Farman in constructing a flying-machine which will actually carry a man settles the entire question, and shows that no further aid from science is necessary. But it would be contrary to the common course of human experience to suppose that Farman has reached the best and only form of aërial vehicle. The experiments of Graham Bell with kites show that there may be a great number of combinations, the possibilities of which have not yet been worked out, and which may lead to a better solution than even that reached by Farman. Such being the case, it is requisite that progress be as rapid as possible. The inventor, the physicist and the experimenter should work in combination, the one designing his plans, the other making the computations necessary to know whether it is possible that they can work, and the experimenter—who, of course, may be the inventor himself—making such trials as may be necessary to determine points on which the physicist is in doubt.

The question of greatest public interest is the practical one whether men now living may reasonably hope to see aërial navigation prosecuted in such a way as to be commercially successful, or to afford the public, or any part of it, a method of transporting passengers or things from place to place with more celerity and economy than under our present system. I conceive that, while science cannot answer this question categorically, it will enable us to state with a fair approach to certainty the conditions of success. The airship proper, or dirigible balloon, can be a commercial success only when expanded to such dimensions that thin metal sheets can take the place of a textile fabric in the structure. I say this on the supposition that no such fabric can be

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made perfectly gas-proof, so that when once inflated it can be run for months and years without any new supply of gas. If this supposition is incorrect, if a textile fabric can be made to hold the gas indefinitely, then success may be reached on the present system. As has already been pointed out, the obstacles in the way of success are those of construction and engineering rather than those of natural law.

It would seem that, at the present time, the public is more hopeful of the flying-machine than of the dirigible balloon. The idea that because such a machine has at last been constructed, which will carry a man through the air, there is no limit to progress, is a natural one. But to judge of possibilities, we must advert to the distinction already pointed out between obstacles interposed by nature, which cannot be surmounted by any invention, and those which we may hope to overcome by possible mechanical appliances. The mathematical relations between speed, sustaining power, strength of material, efficiency of engine, and other elements of success are fixed and determinate, and cannot be changed except by new scientific discoveries, quite outside the power of the inventor to make. That the gravitation of matter can in any way be annulled seems out of the question. Should any combination of metals or other substances be discovered of many times the stiffness and tensile strength of the fabrics and alloys with which we are now acquainted, then might one element of success be at our command. But, with the metals that we actually have, there is a limit to the weight of an engine with a given driving power, and it may be fairly assumed that this limit is nearly reached in the motors now in use.

We have pointed out the direction in which improvement may be possible. But, when we consider the resistance of the air, not only do we find the field open to improvement to be limited, but there is one great problem belonging wholly to the future, that of transporting the passenger in safety and comfort upon a machine that can be made available at will. Let us look more closely at the actual conditions. Owing to the levity of the air, the supporting surface must have a wide area. We cannot set any exact limit to the necessary spread of sail, because the higher the speed the less the spread required. But, as we increase the speed, we also increase the resistance, and therefore we must have a more powerful and necessarily heavier motor. Unless the ad-

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justment of parts in Farman's machine is far from perfect, more than a thousand square feet of ground is necessary to hold the flyer when at rest. If the traveller is to possess his own machine, the reader who reflects upon the situation and upon the probable cost, can form as good an idea as any one of the expense involved merely in the storage and care of the flyer. But let us grant that he is so fortunate that cost need not be considered. Then he will certainly need comfort in travel. But, if he attempts to protect himself from the inclemency of the weather and the discomfort of a motion through the air at a speed approaching that of a railway train, we may well doubt whether any person will ever prefer flying to railway travel. There can be no warming of the air without much additional weight, and no protection from the wind without much additional resistance. The highest measure of success which even the idealist could hopefully conceive would place the passenger in much the same condition as regards surroundings as that of a traveller by rail, mounted on a platform without sides or covering, driven along at railroad speed in every sort of weather.

If the machine is to be in charge of a skilful driver, which seems to be essential, it must carry him as well as the passenger. But in this case there is, as I have already pointed out, no way of reaching the result except by so constructing the machine that it shall be equivalent to two flyers, each capable of carrying a man. Then the size of the vehicle, and the general difficulty of management, are all increased in the same proportion. If this view seems pessimistic, if it seems to belong to that large class of predictions which have been belied by the result, I think it can only be from want of full consideration of the obstacles I have pointed out, and from our neglecting to take account of all the conditions. Bearing in mind that no limit is to be set to the possible discovery of new laws of nature or new combinations of the chemical elements, it must be understood that I disclaim any positive prediction that men will never fly from place to place at will. The claim I make is that they will not do this until some epoch-making discovery is made of which we have now no conception, and that mere invention has nearly reached its limit. It is very natural to reason that men have done hundreds of things which formerly seemed impossible, and therefore they may fly. But for every one thing seemingly impossible that they

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have succeeded in doing there are ten which they would like to do but which no one believes that they can do. No one thinks of controlling wind or weather, of making the sun shine when we please, of building a railroad across the Atlantic, of changing the ocean level to suit the purposes of commerce, of building bridges of greater extent than engineers tell us is possible with the strength of the material that we have at command, or of erecting buildings so high that they would be crushed by their own weight. Why are we hopeless as to all these achievements, and yet hopeful that the flying-machine may be the vehicle of the future, which shall transport us more rapidly than a railroad train now does? It is simply because we all have so clear a mental view of the obstacles in the way of reaching such ends as those just enumerated that we do not waste time in attempting to surmount them, and we are hopeful of the flying-machine only because we do not clearly see that the difficulties are of the same nature as those we should encounter in erecting a structure which would not be subject to the laws of mechanics.

I have said nothing of the possible success of the flying-machine for the purposes of military reconnaissance or any other operations requiring the observer to command a wide view of all that is on the landscape. This is a technical subject which, how great soever may be its national importance, does not affect our daily life. It is, therefore, one in which we can wait patiently to see what success attends the effort made by our Army Signal Office to command a practical flyer. The complex questions arising may well be left to military men, as may all questions relating to the practicability of the dirigible balloon as an engine of warfare. What immediately interests the public is the possibility of the commercial success of aërial flight as a means of travelling with greater speed or greater economy than we now do. The writer cannot see how any one who carefully weighs all that he has said can avoid the conclusion that the era when we shall take the flyer as we now take the train belongs to dreamland.

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AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEWS OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

AMONG the relics of vanished civilizations there are many remains of engineering works which would have been monumental in any age, but which appear stupendous as the achievements of people who had not that great servant the electric current at their beck and call. I sometimes wonder whether any one of these was discussed, debated and experimentalized upon as the Panama Canal has been! To the casual observer—that most inaccurate person—it must seem extraordinary that apparently so small a feat as the cutting of a neck of land only some forty miles wide should present difficulties which have kept the united wisdom of the ages at bay ever since Nuñez de Balboa, in 1513, first sighted the Pacific and stimulated the search for the new highway to the East.

It is not likely that I should attempt to minimize these difficulties, for, on my first visit to the Isthmus, in 1895, to report on the rival routes for the canal, I was so strongly persuaded of the engineering obstacles of the Panama route (as now chosen) that I strongly urged the adoption of the Nicaragua line as more feasible, though longer and less convenient. Since that time, however, engineering has made great strides, and the political conditions, which then appeared to me unfavorable, have been entirely changed. The Panama route has also by the work of the last four years been robbed of one of its main disadvantages—the deadly character of the climate. In 1895, the investigations of science into the cause of malarial and other tropical fevers were still elementary; and, although here and there a pioneer was trying to get a hearing for his theories, no government had yet thought of attempting, as the United States has since done,

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the great task of cleansing tropical regions of the disease-producing germs.

The last twelve years of history in the engineering and scientific world have brought us nearer to the solution of the Panama Canal problem than the centuries (close on four) which have passed since Bastidas, "Spain's best and noblest *conquistador,*" first sighted the shores of the great American isthmus in 1501. The United States, which have overcome two of the greatest difficulties, in securing unquestioned political control and in rendering the canal zone habitable, may well congratulate themselves on possessing the keys to success. I believe in their work and their destiny as the builder of a canal, and it is therefore in no carping spirit that I now indicate some of the chief obstacles which they have still to overcome.

It is obvious to careful readers of the copious literature dealing with the question of canal construction in the last few months, that so far neither the type of canal nor the principle of construction is as yet definitely settled. American readers are so familiar with the discussion as to "sea-levels" and "locks" that they must forgive me for briefly reiterating, for the sake of clearness, the projects hitherto considered.

Three types of canal were chiefly discussed. The first—a sea-level, with a great flood-regulating dam and sluices at Gamboa, and with two tide-regulating locks at the Pacific end in order to obviate the tidal range of nineteen feet, at an approximate cost of £50,000,000—was chosen by the majority of eight members (three Americans and five Europeans) of the International Consulting Board, which was a body composed of the first engineers of Europe and America. It was in their opinion the only project "giving reasonable assurance of safe and uninterrupted navigation." The second project, ultimately adopted by the United States Government, received the adherence of a minority of the Commission (five in number) consisting entirely of American engineers. It provided for a "lock and lake" canal, with an immense artificial lake, at a level of eighty-five feet above the sea, to be held up by a great dam at Gatun, on the Chagres River, some three miles from the Atlantic in Limon Bay. This scheme, which was estimated to cost £28,000,000, is in all essentials no new plan, but is almost identical with that of Godin de Lépinay, the distinguished French engineer, in 1879, who, however, pro-

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vided an alternative site for the dam at Bohio in case Gatun should be found unsuitable. A third project, a lock canal of the usual type, recommended by the majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers in case the American Government decided to build a lock canal, provided for a height of not more than sixty feet, with a regulating lake and dam at Gamboa, and was estimated to cost £35,000,000. This scheme, which had the advantage of being so designed as to be convertible into a sea-level canal, was not adopted by the United States Government, which, for reasons "other than of an engineering character," preferred the "lock and lake" project already referred to.

Nevertheless, the weight of expert evidence in Europe and the United States has been so heavily in favor of a sea-level scheme that there was actually a majority in its favor both in the Senate and the House. In the last few months, opinion has been swinging round in the direction indicated by Senator Knox, at the time when the type of canal was decided by Congress, when he declared that, though not the type immediately chosen, the sea-level canal should be the ultimate aim. It is the conviction, founded on the opinions of all the first engineers of the day, that the only permanent and satisfactory highway from Atlantic to Pacific must be as nearly as possible freed from artificial works and the dangers consequent on them, which makes me regret that the United States should have adopted the "lake and lock" scheme. As I shall show, it involves works which will directly impede the ultimate sea-level channel, even if they are in themselves practicable—which is extremely doubtful.

The idea of many people seems to be that the Culebra cut—the divide between Atlantic and Pacific—is the greatest difficulty to be met; and the encouraging reports of the excavation done there by the great steam shovels has even led such journals as the London "Times" to the conclusion that another seven years may see ships like the "Mauretania" steaming through from the Caribbean to the Pacific. But, although the cutting of the Culebra cut is a stupendous work, and one that seemed to me twelve years ago almost impracticable, yet it is to-day merely a matter of time and money. And, although the figures now being supplied are not trustworthy guides as to the necessary expenditure under both these heads, since it is no mere question of straightforward "digging," yet there is no ground to doubt that

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the problem of the Culebra cut is on the road to solution. The work now proceeding there has this advantage—it is necessary for any scheme and can be pushed on without regard to the rest of the canal. Not so the operations for overcoming the other great difficulty, the Chagres River. Now, as in 1895, this is the key to the situation—*la grande inconnue*—the unknown quantity, the small stream which, draining three-fourths of the isthmus, suddenly becomes a tearing yellow flood. On the Pacific side, the rivers are insignificant and can flow partly direct into the canal and partly into the Rio Grande. Engineers with life-long experience of tropical regions find it difficult to calculate the exact strength necessary to control such erratic floods; but it is agreed that a colossal dam and regulating lake are necessary at some stage of its career to regulate the Chagres, since the canal will pass along its channel and cannot safely be subjected to sudden and violent floods.

The "lock and lake" scheme now under construction attempts to meet the difficulty by a huge earthen dam at Gatun. By means of this the Chagres would be spread out, during the greater part of its course, into a huge lake (about thirty-two miles in length and reaching to within a few miles of the Pacific) at an elevation of eighty-five feet above sea-level. From this lake a giant flight of locks would descend on either side to the ocean level. The Gatun dam would extend for 7,700 feet on the crest; its foundations, as is admitted by its projectors, would be on earth and other uncertain and unreliable materials, since the rocky foundation of the subsoil is from 260 feet to 300 feet below the surface at the site. This great dam, made of earth (protected on the up-stream slope by a rock wall), without core, stop wall or cut off, is the key to the "lock and lake" scheme. On it depends the success of the whole project. No change of detail in its construction, nor slight variation in its position, can alter its essential character. It was modelled originally on the Wachusett North Dyke (near Clinton, Mass.), completed in 1905. This dam partially collapsed in April, 1907, when subjected to a much less pressure of water than it was designed to hold, and about two-fifths of that which the Gatun dam may have to bear. Since then—and even prior to the disaster—there has been a doubtful note, even in the opinion of the most optimistic, with regard to the Gatun dam.

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The giant locks are a second drawback, for it is obviously no small undertaking to raise and lower vessels like modern battleships, of 22,000 tons, (and notoriously unwieldy even in the most favorable circumstances), or liners like the "Mauretania" with eighty-eight feet beam, up and down this Brobdignagian staircase. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in the estimates for the "lake and lock" canal the size of lock necessary was underrated. The essential increase, and the compensation (not allowed for) for the huge area to be submerged, beyond the canal zone already belonging to the United States, would bring the cost up to nearer thirty-six millions than the twenty-eight now estimated.

The alternative plan for damming and controlling the Chagres adopted in the sea-level scheme, and one which is considered by the majority of experts as essential to any sea-level scheme, is also embodied in the lock canal projected by the majority of the consulting engineers under a reservation already noted. In the sea-level scheme the Chagres is taken at an earlier stage in its career before the canal enters its bed, at the point where it turns eastwards to the Atlantic. Here, at Gamboa, its head waters are confined by a dam, which converts them into a lake reservoir provided with numerous spillways and sluices. The site is claimed to be ideal, providing a rock foundation and near to the Culebra cut, so that the rocky excavation can be utilized. The dam would have a core wall of concrete, supported with earthen walls and faced with rock. Its height would be 135 feet, its crest 5,000 feet long, and it is believed that it would be adequate to domesticate and control the river at this point and to ensure the regularity of the velocity in the canal. The Gamboa dam has this advantage over the Gatun one—it is equally practicable for a lock or sea-level canal, and is in the opinion of the majority of engineers an essential feature of either. It is a fact, ignored or forgotten in the United States, that this Gamboa dam, or a dam on an alternative site higher up the Chagres valley, has formed a feature in all canal schemes since that of de Lépinay was rejected some thirty years ago. No sufficient reason, so far as I have been able to discover, has been advanced for abandoning Gamboa in favor of Gatun; but the impression seems to have prevailed in certain quarters that a comparatively inexpensive and easily constructed earthwork at Gatun would suffice, and would provide a good lake waterway at a high level, thus minimizing

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excavation. The ingenious theory was attractive to those who desired, for political reasons, the early opening of the canal. But it depended for its success on premises which were insufficiently proved.

The administrative difficulties which have met the United States Government are, like the Culebra cut, mostly a matter of money and patience, but the work has been complicated in a manner little anticipated when it was first undertaken. One chief engineer after another has thrown up the task, and numerous commissioners (many with no previous experience) have succeeded each other, to the detriment of any continuity in the policy of administration. The invitation to contractors was not responded to by responsible firms, since the conditions were considered by them to be too complicated and onerous. Since March, 1907, the Canal Commission is actually on the isthmus and in direct touch, and the whole working has been handed over to the military authorities, a course which is less unusual in the United States, where many public works are done by the military engineer, than it would be in Great Britain. In our Indian empire, of course, the Royal Engineers do similar work under similar conditions. The great advantage in Panama will be to secure permanence in the personnel, since army engineers under orders cannot be tempted by more lucrative employment elsewhere or influenced by family considerations. The present chief engineer, Colonel Goethals, who has the immense advantage of being also Chairman of the Commission, has the reputation of being a man of iron determination and discipline, and under his eye matters certainly seem to be proceeding with a regularity which has been lacking hitherto.

The question of labor supply is one which will make itself felt more keenly as time goes on. At present twenty-seven per cent. of those employed are white and Eurasian, and the health conditions as secured by the great exertions of the United States render it possible for them to live and work on the isthmus, although the preservation of those conditions and the arrangements for their comfort render their employment a very expensive luxury. But I am much inclined to doubt whether even freedom from malaria can render work at Panama really healthy for white men, as is claimed; and I am convinced that the supply will need to be constantly replenished. The same applies in even greater

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measure to the colored labor supply. It is little understood that pulmonary complaints are more fatal to colored laborers than fevers, when working in the tropics. The frequency with which a man sits down to eat, or goes back from work, in a wringing wet condition very soon tells on the constitution. If reports from Panama can be trusted, a great deal more needs to be done both for white and colored labor to minimize a danger which is quite as real as malarial fever.

The source of the colored labor supply, so far, is chiefly the West Indies, and this cannot be indefinitely exploited, since already there is a shortage of labor in some of the islands. Asia, of course, could supply an unlimited number, but the present relations between Asia and America do not encourage a hope that this reservoir can be tapped. Panama itself is now bitterly anti-Asiatic. It will be especially interesting to watch how this problem of labor works out on the canal, because the conditions are to a certain extent novel. Great engineering feats in ancient times were executed by slaves. In more recent days, contract labor was employed under conditions which gave those responsible complete authority. To-day, we find a democratic government for the first time engaged in a vast engineering undertaking outside the boundaries of its own country. To a certain extent, the theories as to the construction of the canal by free labor have already broken down, since it has been necessary to place the whole work under military control. Even under these conditions the problems raised by modern ideas of the relations between employers and employed, and the claims of the latter to regulate those relations, will inevitably complicate the administration of Panama, and must be an important and ungauged factor in determining the length of time necessary for the completion of the work, as well as the expenditure involved.

One criticism presents itself very forcibly to the Englishman with some knowledge of engineering work in other parts of the world. It has not seemed possible or desirable to the United States Government to place the work (as would be done anywhere else) in the hands of one man, who would be subjected to no ulterior influences, and make him responsible for its speedy and economical completion. The United States, except in rare cases, prefers to deal through commissions, although practical experience has demonstrated the disadvantages of this system.

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At the present time there is a Canal Commission which is the supreme authority on the isthmus, and of which Colonel Goethals is the Chairman. To my mind, the efficiency and success of the Commission largely depend upon the extent to which Colonel Goethals, or some other man of strong personality, can succeed in dominating the rest of the commissioners. In other words, multiple control is as futile in engineering as in war operations. The United States Government is the controlling force, dictates the policy and provides the funds; but for the instrument to carry out their wishes they do not need a multiple-headed executive, but one good man, with complete power and responsibility.

The political aspect of the canal is, perhaps, the one which has undergone most changes in the last twelve years. It has improved in some aspects, but in others unexpected difficulties are now looming on the horizon. The centre of gravity has shifted. In 1895 it was European opposition and local difficulties which had to be faced. The first was removed by the negotiations which culminated in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. No European Power would now dream of making the slightest objection to the control by the United States of a waterway which they have the sole right to construct. The French claims have been successfully eliminated. By the *coup d'état* of 1903 President Roosevelt disposed of an even greater difficulty, which would have been a permanent source of weakness had the canal been made through a foreign state. The alarm excited in South America by this sudden advance towards her boundaries seems to have been allayed; and, though I am far from believing that the southern expansion of the United States will always be as peaceful and easy as the acquisition of the canal zone, yet there is no doubt that she is mistress of the situation and that the Central-American States are aware that their present independence can only be preserved by a correct attitude.

But, if all these conditions are now favorable, there still remains that cloud on the horizon. I shall indicate it very slightly. We are accustomed to speak of the canal opening the way from East to West, from the Eastern States (and even Europe) to the Pacific. We must remember, however, that the tide of traffic may flow equally in the contrary direction, and that the awakening of China and the industrial, as well as the maritime, expansion of Japan are two factors in the case. East and West

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will inevitably be brought into more intimate relations, and, considering the difficulty at present experienced in adjusting our intercourse with Eastern Asia, it is not difficult to foresee possible complications of an epoch-making character.

Finally, I must return for a moment to the canal itself. Many prophets there be who, assuming a certain progressive increase in the amount of monthly excavation at Culebra, arrive at a conclusion and tell you the exact date at which the Atlantic and Pacific will join hands. I am not one of those because I have yet to see the adoption of a scheme for controlling the Chagres which has some reasonable chance of success. I am indebted to engineering experts of European reputation—who I believe are confirmed by those of America—for the following estimate, which I offer to my readers with all possible reservations as to the effect of seismic disturbances, unusual floods or administrative difficulties. If the work which is said to be now proceeding at Gatun were abandoned, and all energy were concentrated in damming the Chagres at Gamboa, and excavation were vigorously pressed, a sea-level canal might be opened in ten years from the present time. A lock canal with dam at Gamboa might possibly take less time—though this is doubtful; but whether it is worth while to construct expensive temporary works just to save a year or two and to lessen the initial outlay is a controversial point. From an English point of view, it seems entirely false economy. Lastly, the works at present proceeding, which are expected to open a "lock and lake" canal in about seven years' time, at a cost of £28,000,000, will, if persisted in, put the canal back several years. To base any scheme on a work like the Gatun dam, which (even in December, 1906) the optimistic President considered to "involve some risk," is to build a house on sand. I have no doubt that the scheme will be ultimately abandoned in favor of one which has the sanction of the majority of engineering experts; and the pity is that the change of policy should be delayed to the great detriment of a work of international importance.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

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"CONCLUSIONS OF A FREE-THINKER" EXAMINED.

BY THE REV. ROBERT F. COYLE, D.D.

THE article in the October number of this REVIEW, entitled "Some Conclusions of a Free-thinker," is evidently the product of a sincere and honest mind. To read it is to have respect for its author's abilities and literary attainments. Through the work we see something of the worker, and accord him a high place in talent and in character. To be sure, he makes a thrust at the pulpit and, through the lips of Emerson, calls it "The Coward's Fort." The fling is as untruthful as it is ungracious. Taking them all in all, there is no class of men in public life to-day who dare to speak their whole minds more freely and fearlessly than our preachers. But let that pass.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Chamberlain's long and labored search for truth should have yielded such poor results. As the issue of it all he found, not the light, but the thick shadows. To me there is a deep undertone of sadness in his paper, a minor note that speaks of a quest unsatisfied, notwithstanding his avowal to the contrary. This feeling is confirmed in me by his statement that through all his life he was "a constant attendant at the religious services of the standard churches." But why attend churches in which he did not believe, and whose teachings were to him absurd and unreasonable? Somehow "The Coward's Fort" seems to have attracted him down to the very last. Was it because there was in him a hunger for something which his own way of thinking did not and could not appease? So, at any rate, it appears to me. His heart seems to have been at war with his head.

The article in question is destructive throughout. It lifts up axes and hammers upon the carved work, but plants not a

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tree or a flower in the midst of the desolation it leaves behind. Its author begins in the mists of uncertainty and ends in the awful blackness of annihilation. What lies back of the universe, what power or force or influence, he regards as an "insoluble mystery"; what lies beyond the grave, nothing. His answer to the question of the ages is that "Death ends all." In the far-away past, night; in the swiftly oncoming future, night; and, all between, the relentless march of iron-footed law. In reaching his conclusions, reason — his own reason illumined from all available sources of information—was his sole guide. His appeal is to reason, and to reason we shall go. The Christian thinker accepts the challenge of that word. His Book exalts man's rational nature, and calls upon him to use his logical faculties and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks a reason for the hope that is in him. Faith in God is not blind and stupid credulity; it is not superstition; it is reason so conscious of the Infinite that it falls upon its knees.

Mr. Chamberlain declares that Christian theologians and commentators and preachers, "one and all, start with assumptions which cannot be admitted and reach conclusions which are without validity." But let us ask as to his own major premise, or basic assumption, and compare it with that of the Christian thinker, and decide for ourselves which is the more reasonable. The proposition from which Mr. Chamberlain starts and upon which his whole philosophy is built is that some altogether unknowable force, or power, or influence, originated things, and evolution did the rest. There is no suggestion in his article of an intelligent and infinite Will at the spring-head of the universe. Nothing but an unknowable, impersonal force, out of which have come all the complex and marvellous arrangements of creation, all worlds, all laws, all life, all thought, all love. Here is our earth, with its teeming millions of thinking men. Here, everywhere, are the products of their intelligence—art, and music, and literature, and invention, and architecture. Here are their thoughts incarnated in dramas, and oratorios, and paintings, and libraries, and constitutions, and crusades, and reforms. And all this output of mind, and a thousandfold more, has been educed from the mindless by the law of evolution. Any man who can believe that and call it reason has a capacity for believing that seems to me quite extraordinary.

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Evolution, from base to pinnacle, is built upon pre-existing material. It can only unfold that which has been infolded. If the chicken is not potentially in the egg, no process of incubation, long or short, can ever hatch it out. Evolution and involution must be equal. The Christian thinker sees that the universe is packed and crammed with thought and design. He sees them in the stars and trees, in the plants and animals, in all the throbbing life of the world; and is he less reasonable than Mr. Chamberlain and men of his intellectual type if he concludes that back of it all there must be a Thinker big enough to be the source of it all? The Christian thinker reasons that something cannot be in the effect which was not in the cause; that man, for example, who can analyze the planets and weigh the sun and wing the lightning and make air and water and wind his servants, could not have been produced by an impersonal being or force. He concludes that man, with all his wonderful attributes, is reason enough for belief in God. One marvels that Mr. Chamberlain did not see the absurdity of his own position. His explanation does not explain. It solves no problem. It is a good illustration of the wholly untenable and preposterous things that can be said in the name of reason.

With the primal cause of things hopelessly beyond our ken, excluding "once for all and peremptorily" the Christian's God, leaving the origin of the universe in the fog of the unknowable, he brings in what he calls the "stupendous evolutionary theory of the world," and makes the "all-embracing law of evolution" the builder and ruler of all that was, or is, or ever shall be. "The mental and moral world," he says, "like the physical, is the result at every stage of the workings of the laws of evolution." This sort of language surprises me, and more especially as coming from a man who bows so completely to reason. As a matter of fact, law never does anything, either in the world of matter or in the world of men. It is not an agent, but a method. It points to a way or process of doing things, but is never a performer. The State enacts a law prohibiting a certain crime. But the law in and of itself prohibits nothing. It merely indicates the way in which intelligent order-loving men are to proceed in relation to the crime in question. Without living, willing men behind it, statutory law is dead and useless. So, in the realm of the material, it is misleading and untrue to

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fact to say that law ever operates to accomplish this or that. The law of gravitation does not attract the heavenly bodies; it simply tells us how a certain mysterious force acts upon them. A machine is made to run in a certain way; that is its law, but the law has no power to make it run. When we speak of the laws of health, we do not mean that those laws are the authors of health. We mean only that, if we pursue a certain line of conduct, we shall avoid disease. Law, then, produces nothing; and, hence, when Mr. Chamberlain affirms that all there is in the worlds of mind and morals and matter is the actual output of the laws of evolution, he is saying something that will not bear the light of a moment's thought. The laws of evolution necessarily imply an Evolver who made those laws, and who chooses to proceed in the way they specify and in no other.

How utterly inadequate Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy is to account for the great facts of human life—sin, free-will and the sense of responsibility—must be apparent to every candid mind. Call it by what name you please, sin is here. It is in evidence everywhere. Something is wrong with the world. A thousand black passions burn in human hearts and flame in human society. Cruelty cuts and grinds and kills. Falsehood paints and veneers and deceives. Impurity stains and soils and slimes. All these things we group together and call them "Sin." It is here, and the question is, How did it get here? If it is involved in evolution, if it belongs to the nature of things, then it is a part of a great necessity; and, if so, why punish men for it? Why hold them responsible for that which they cannot help? How can there be any such thing as accountability if the entire "mental and moral world, like the physical, is the result at every stage of the workings of the laws of evolution"? Mr. Chamberlain calls himself a "free-thinker"; but, if his position is the correct one, he is mistaken; he is only a machine-thinker, and can be nothing else, grinding out of his thought-mill what is forced into it from behind. How can a man be free to think if he is not free to choose; and how can he be free to choose if he is under a system of fixed and inexorable laws; and, if he cannot choose, if he is acted upon and not an independent actor, how can he be responsible for what he does? If Mr. Chamberlain's reasoning is sound, man has no free will; he is a mere machine, and can no more sin than an automobile or a factory

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can sin. If his reasoning is valid, it is a misuse of language to speak of a man as a "moral being" at all; he is and can be neither moral nor immoral, neither good nor bad.

Mr. Chamberlain affirms in substance that there is no God above the universe, and no God in the universe; no God working upon it from without, and no God working through its forces from within—nothing but law, inevitable, immutable, everlasting law. Hence the Providential and miraculous are excluded, as having "no part or lot in the progress or development or course of events." This is conceived to be more reasonable than the Christian idea of a "presiding and controlling Deity." For my part, I like to think that this great world-ship, freighted with all our human destinies, is directed, not by the blind, unpitying, unthinking laws of its machinery, but by the Captain on the bridge. It seems to me, in view of all the facts, immensely more credible and more worthy of men who can think than the derelict theory of a universe unpiloted, drifting, going on forever and arriving nowhere.

Society itself furnishes a convincing proof of an overruling Providence. We have seen it convulsed by revolution, torn by Hun and Vandal, hurled into chaos by the wild hand of anarchy, writhing in the grip of war and bleeding from a thousand wounds; we have seen it like a dismantled ship, swept by the tempest, and yet somehow it has come out of every storm safer, more staunch, more seaworthy than ever. We have learned that society is not a disorderly mass of human beings, that it is not a tangled web of twisted and crossing threads, without pattern or design. We have learned that, through all the surging billows, there is a Gulf Stream sweeping steadily onward and bearing society up to higher and better things. "Through the ages one increasing purpose runs." The great Purposer sits behind the loom, weaving into the web His own plans for warp and woof. Such is the Christian thinker's conception, and I must leave the reader to judge between it and the other. Evolution is blind, Providence is full of eyes; and, for my part, I prefer to be led and ruled by something, or Some One, who can see.

If we believe that God is and reigns—and, in view of all the evidence, this seems to me the only belief warranted by the soundest reason—we can hardly deny that miracles are possible, not to say probable. Man is a free being, consciously, admittedly,

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free. And if man is not the creature of necessity, is God? Is the Infinite so bound by his own natural laws as to be without liberty to act in this way or that as it pleases Him? To deny that God can work miracles is to deny God Himself. When He created the universe, He did not surrender His freedom and chain Himself up to evolution. It would be strange, indeed, if the determining God were Himself under the law of determinism.

And is it not highly probable that He would work miracles if there were need? That miracles have occurred and do occur is attested by the most abundant and convincing evidence. They are contrary to the general experience of men, to be sure; but experience is not the final arbiter here. When Marconi flashed his first wireless message across the sea, it was contrary to all experience; but it was done, nevertheless. If somebody had said, twenty-five years ago, that it was possible for a man in Chicago to talk with a man in New York, he would doubtless have been told that such a thing was opposed to all experience. To-day, however, all this is common enough and perfectly natural. So I believe, as another has said, that "miracles on earth are natural events in heaven." We all believe, even Mr. Chamberlain believes, that the world had a beginning, and what was that beginning but a miracle? Jesus Christ is a miracle. It is impossible to account for Him by the law of evolution, or by heredity and environment.

Mr. Chamberlain considers the Christian scheme or programme of redemption as "utterly impossible and as the height of unreason." But, if we start with a God who desires and wills the good of His creatures, it is not difficult to see how all the rest should follow. No doubt there are mysteries, but if human reason expects and demands that all mystery shall be cleared away, and especially on such subjects as this, it makes itself quite unreasonable. Referring to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, Professor Huxley wrote in 1877, "I have not the slightest objection to offer *a priori* to all the propositions of the Three Creeds. The mysteries of the church are child's play compared with the mysteries of nature." Let him who rejects the Christian plan, or scheme, suggest something else, as a substitute, something that will as adequately account for the great facts of nature and of life, and something that will as satisfactorily solve the black problem of sin and guilt. No one

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can deny that there is a stupendous vicarious principle pervading the existing order of things. In nature, one form of life dies for another; animals suffer for animals; and in society men suffer for men. We are clothed and shod and fed at the expense of innocent beings that have died. Our homes, our liberties, our inventions and our civilization have come to us along the pathway of vicarious sacrifice. The great altruistic principle is seen everywhere. Why, then, should it be thought a strange or absurd thing to find this principle fundamental in Christianity, running all through it as the mother-lode runs through the range? When all the vicarious hints and suggestions in nature and life are gathered up and given supreme incarnation and manifestation on the Cross, it is just what we might expect on the assumption that God is Love and longs to save men from the consequences of their sins. It has always seemed quite remarkable to me that men of sense and reason so often reject in religion what they are compelled to accept in all the material and domestic and social world around them. They cannot read the book of the fields and hills with open eyes, or pass among their fellow men in society, without seeing vicariousness in constant and universal evidence; and yet, when the church calls attention to the profoundly significant truth and preaches it as illustrated by Jesus Christ, it is the "height of unreason."

Our gifted "free-thinker" finds that the "records of the New Testament are throughout of the most doubtful authenticity." And yet, Renan and Strauss, who, he tells us, had something to do with leading him to his conclusions, admit that St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, his two Epistles to the Corinthians, and his Epistle to the Galatians are genuine. So do critics of all schools. And these Epistles in themselves contain all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The question of the authenticity of the New Testament writings is one that can only be decided by specialists; and the almost universal conclusion among men who have given years of the most painstaking study and investigation to the matter is that the Epistles already referred to, the "Acts of the Apostles," and the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke are authentic. The "Phædo" of Plato antedates the New Testament by more than four hundred years. Its trustworthiness is not questioned by Mr. Chamberlain; he re-

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fers to it with evident pleasure; and yet he would be a rash man who should affirm that it is more thoroughly authenticated than the productions which are characterized in this article as "a tissue of myths, traditions and what may be called 'old wives' tales.'" Indeed, the "Phædo" was rejected by the celebrated Panætius as spurious more than a century before Christ.

In the face of the testimony of twenty centuries, from believers and unbelievers, saints and sceptics alike, Mr. Chamberlain disparages Jesus, takes Him down from the solitary and sublime pre-eminence which the ages have accorded Him, and discounts Christianity as no better, to say the least, than other religions. When the teachings of the great Master are sifted out, he tells us there is "little that is superlatively good or great or original." He assures us that the "best ethical sayings of Jesus Christ are easily paralleled from the doctrines and precepts of other great religions or systems of religious thought of the Eastern world." Even if this were true, it would prove nothing. It is to be regretted, however, that he does not give us a few specimens to make good his point. When he affirms that the "Sermon on the Mount" sets up no higher standards of living or of aspiration than are found in Brahmanism and Confucianism, I challenge the statement and call for the proofs. The Golden Rule as found in the teachings of Confucius is not to be compared with that of Jesus. The former is negative, the latter positive; and he who cannot see the immense difference is not largely endowed with the gift of discernment.

If the teachings of Jesus and of the other great religions are so similar and so nearly equal in point of merit, why has their moral effect been so immensely different? By their fruits ye shall know them. The uplifting influence of Christ upon the world has been a thousandfold greater than that of all other founders of religions put together. Listen to Renan, who helped Mr. Chamberlain to his "conclusions":

> "A thousand times more alive, a thousand times more beloved, since Thy death than during Thy passage here below, Thou shalt become the cornerstone of humanity so entirely that to tear Thy name from the world would be to rend it to its foundations. Between Thee and God there will no longer be any distinctions."

Of what other that ever lived could that be said? And Mr.

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W. E. H. Lecky, the well-known rationalist and historian, speaking of this same Christ, says:

> "It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments and conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice; and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists."

Thus, by rationalists as well as by Christians, language has been exhausted in proclaiming the unapproachable excellence of the ethics of Jesus.

But how does the morality taught by the Man of Galilee work practically? Mr. Chamberlain does not think that the Christian claim of superiority for Christianity in its influence upon the nations can be made good. He affirms that "its abuses, crimes against humanity, atrocities and cruelties are absolutely greater, far greater, than can be charged against any other system of religion whatever." He admits that this is a "broad assertion," and it certainly is. No one denies the abuses and all the rest of the black catalogue; but what man, with any sense of fairness and discrimination, or with any ability to reason, can hold Christianity responsible for crimes and atrocities committed in the name of Christianity? As well charge liberty with all the dastardly things done in the name of liberty, or love with all the vile and shocking tragedies enacted in the name of love. As well hold the Government of the United States responsible for the coinage and circulation of counterfeit money. There is not an honest man in Christendom who does not know that the Christianity of Christ is utterly incapable of the things which Mr. Chamberlain alleges against it.

He acknowledges, somewhat mildly, the higher moral standards of the Christian nations, but these he refuses to credit to Christianity. He insists that they are due to race qualities, and not to religion. Racially, the people of the Occident, ever since the advent of Jesus, have been the most virile and vigorous and aggressive on the face of the earth, but in point of morals our far-away ancestors were quite as low down as their contemporaries in the Orient. The historians tell us that they performed rites

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and indulged in cruelties that are awful to think about. They tell us that they offered human beings in sacrifice, and it is said that sometimes they ate human flesh. What they did there in the forests of Britain and Germany and everywhere on the continent of Europe is not calculated to make us proud of our origin. And what was it that lifted them, until to-day their descendants, on the whole, in their social and national life, are so much higher than the people that have remained pagan? There is but one answer. It was the impact of Christianity upon them, and the gradual translation of the spirit of Christianity into their thought and conduct.

How any man can say, as our author does, that the Christianization of Oriental countries would not improve them, and especially if he be a well-poised, reasonable man, is hard, indeed, to understand. It ought not to be necessary to say to intelligent men that, wherever Christianity has been long enough in touch with these lands to make its power felt, they have been greatly improved already. Turn to India, and think of the inhuman and cruel practices that have been abolished, and the dreadful shadows that have fled away since the light of the Cross first fell upon that country. All the horrors of Juggernaut, of Suttee, of infanticide, of burial alive, and of human sacrifice, gone! Turn to China and note the effect of the Christian religion there. Foot-binding abolished by royal decree, school doors thrown open to women, public and private aid given to hospital-work, a vast increase of emphasis upon the humanities of life, and the whole country awaking from the sleep of ages. Turn to Japan, and the effect of Christianity has been even more wonderful. To-day many of her statesmen and military leaders and prominent officials are Christians. Thousands of her students are followers of Jesus, and the whole tone of her civilization has been immeasurably elevated by the introduction and spread and infusion of the religion of Christ.

After canvassing the whole field and weighing all the evidence, Mr. Chamberlain comes to the melancholy conclusion that "Death ends all." He tells us that the most convincing argument in bringing him to this conclusion was the physical one. The spirit, or mind, so far as we know, acts only through the brain. In death, the brain perishes like every other part of the body. Therefore, the tenant, the soul, must perish also. Now, in the

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biographical introduction to Mr. Chamberlain's article, the writer quotes a remarkable statement from Mr. Chamberlain. It seems that, near the end of his life, he wrote a powerful invective against one whom he considered "A Traitor to Public Duty." It required almost superhuman exertion, and in a letter to a friend he said:

> "I little cared whether or not it killed me, and I was actually so weak that, when I had partially raised myself on my pillow and had my pencil in my hand, I could write only a dozen or twenty words and then give up, exhausted and panting. I thus wrote during five long days. . . . What I did now seems almost incredible even to myself. Considering the circumstances, I must consider it the greatest feat of my life. I reckon it shows how the spirit can triumph over the flesh."

If it triumphed over the flesh, then, one can but ask, why may it not triumph over the flesh in the hour and article of death? By his own confession the spirit is not inseparably connected with the body. It can rise and flame with unprecedented power as the body decays and slips down into the grave.

As I look at it, one of the most cogent and convincing arguments for the truth of immortality is found in the "stupendous evolutionary theory of the world," upon which our "free-thinker" stakes everything. On the assumption that evolution is true, it is admitted that man is at the head of the grand series, that the whole upward movement of creation has been toward him. He is not a link leading to something higher; he is the end of the chain. No superior being is looked for on this earth. When evolution got to man, it stopped. It could go no farther. Man is the final product. Is it reasonable, therefore, to suppose that, after evolution labored so long to produce man, a being so worthy to survive, he is to die as the brute dies? The man who can believe that must believe that the evolution on which he builds is an unreadable riddle and a stupendous failure, since it cannot continue and carry on into another world the one being it strove for countless millenniums to evolve. Accepting the philosophy of evolution, which is the more reasonable, immortality or annihilation? Look where you will, back over history, and out over society, and nowhere can you find a man who has done his best. No musician has ever composed his best music. No poet has ever sung his best song. No painter has ever put upon the canvas his best painting. No Beecher or Spurgeon or Brooks

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has ever delivered his best message. Always there is something better, something more inspiring struggling for utterance, something more beautiful struggling for expression. Victor Hugo, on his death-bed, declared that he had not spoken out a hundredth part of what was in him. On the basis of evolution, is it reason to conclude that a being with so much in him must stop forever at the door of the tomb? How can you reconcile such a conclusion with the progress that sets steadily on forever? I believe in God, and I believe with John Fiske that "God is not like a child that builds a house of cards to blow it down again."

Besides, reason tells me that it is absurd to suppose that a man's work can last longer than man himself, that the builder is of less consequence than the building. It is preposterous to believe that "Paradise Lost" lives on, and that "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" live on, and "In Memoriam" and "Locksley Hall," and the "Orations on the Crown" live on, while Milton, and Shakespeare, and Tennyson, and Demosthenes have ceased to be.

Mr. Chamberlain does not consider it at all credible that the whole family of man, "good, bad and indifferent," should be indefinitely continued in another world. The number is so great, and the quality in uncountable instances so poor, that their continuance seems very unlikely. "*Cui bono!*" he cries. Why preserve that which is not worth preserving? Compare this cynical and pessimistic conclusion with the teachings of Jesus, and it is like setting a darkness that can be felt in contrast with the full blaze of noonday. Christ sees something in every man, in the vile wretch that slimes his way with the worm, as well as in the philosopher—something worth sacrificing his own life for. Over against the lowest specimen of humanity that walks the earth he sets the Cross. Who in his senses can hesitate for one moment to say that the Gospel estimate of man is infinitely more worthy of acceptance than the philosophy of those who think with Mr. Chamberlain? I do not believe that any human flower, however mean and frail and unworthy, is shaken from the stem at death only to be reduced to nothingness, and my belief is buttressed, not alone upon the teachings of Christianity, but upon reason. I do not believe that evolution collapses like a great bubble when it reaches the grave of man, its goal, its crown. What though "two hundred and eighty billions of human beings have passed across this stage of life," mostly fools,

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as Carlyle would say; and what though there should come ten times that number to play their little parts till the curtain is rung down; there is room enough for all in a universe that is practically boundless, and, assuming that God is, there is reason enough why all should have a chance for everlasting unfoldment.

After concluding on all grounds that there is nothing for man to look forward to but annihilation, Mr. Chamberlain remembers that he has overlooked one important item. Man has a conscience, or a moral sense, a something in him that discriminates between right and wrong. What is its source? Our "free-thinker" is ready with an answer. "Man's moral sense is the result primarily of evolution." Through the long course of the ages man has learned that certain lines of conduct give pleasure, others give pain, and hence what we call the moral nature is simply the result of experience.

The truth is, that our sense of right or wrong is something entirely apart from the pleasant or painful feelings associated with certain acts. When I refrain from putting my hand in the fire, I may be restrained by the memory of some former imprudence; but that is a very different thing from refusing to do this or that because it is wrong. Or, as a great thinker puts it: "It is also quite different from expediency, or the idea of benefiting by an act. For an act may not benefit us at all, or may even injure us, and yet it may be right." Many a time a man, in obedience to Conscience, to the imperative Ought that speaks in his soul, is driven to do what pierces him to the heart. He shrinks from it. On the other hand, men are usually attracted to sin and to courses of vice by the thought of pleasure; so that the experience of pleasure or pain has nothing to do with our convictions of right and wrong.

Christianity has its difficulties. There are many things in it hard to believe, but its difficulties are nothing alongside of those involved in any atheistic view of the universe. If sometimes it staggers the reason—and what else should we expect, we poor humans, dealing with the Infinite?—it is, on the whole, a thousandfold more free from the incredible and the impossible than the world-interpretation in Mr. Chamberlain's article.

Practically, this matter is of overwhelming importance. Instead of being merely speculative, it bears down upon life with

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tremendous emphasis. Let Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy pervade society, and down would go all our ideals. It is idle to say that men would live better lives if the belief in immortality were eliminated from their thinking and their convictions. To substantiate such a position is beyond the bounds of possibility, and he is engaged in poor business who undertakes the task. Would a youth be likely to do much in school and college if some "free-thinker" were to convince him that there was no life for him to live, that his career was to be cut short when school-days were over? And would it not be just as vain to exhort a man to be true and straight and unselfish if he had come to the conclusion that "Death ends all"? The effect of such teaching is, and always has been, and always must be, degrading.

It is powerful presumptive evidence in favor of the truth of Christianity that it can be preached, and that its preaching has the most wholesome effect under every sky. It is the strongest kind of presumptive evidence against Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy that the preaching of it would reduce society to chaos and whelm men everywhere in the Slough of Despond. Go out among the masses and preach that "Death ends all"; go out and say to the multitudes in shop, and mill, and mine, and factory that they are not worth preserving and perpetuating; go out into the highways and byways, into the streets and lanes of the city, and tell the people that there is no God, no future life, nothing but a brute's beginning and a brute's ending; go out and tell them that they are mere machines, the playthings of forces over which they have no control, mere puppets dancing as the strings are pulled by evolution—preach that gospel, and see how long our institutions will stand and our civilization hold together. Tell the toilers everywhere who sweat and strive and struggle that their wrongs will never be redressed, that there is no reckoning beyond, no Throne that is white, that all they will ever have, all they need ever hope for, is here between the cradle and the grave—then woe to the home, woe to the Government, woe to property, woe to everything that makes life worth living! It is either God or Gatling-guns, either the infinite Father or infinite despair. A philosophy that cannot be preached cannot be true.

ROBERT F. COYLE.

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THE ROMANCE OF THE DIAMOND.

BY SIR WILLIAM CROOKES, F.R.S.

FROM the earliest times, the diamond has fascinated mankind. It has been a perennial puzzle—one of the "riddles of the painful earth." Speculations as to the probable origin of the diamond have been greatly forwarded by patient research, and particularly by improved means of obtaining high temperatures, an advance we owe principally to the researches of Professor Moissan.

There is one theory of the origin of diamonds which appeals to the fancy. It is said that the diamond is a gift from Heaven, conveyed to earth in meteoric showers. The suggestion, I believe, was first broached by A. Meydendauer, who said:

"The diamond can only be of cosmic origin, having fallen as a meteorite at later periods of the earth's formation. The available localities of the diamond contain the residues of not very compact meteoric masses, which may, perhaps, have fallen in prehistoric ages, and which have penetrated more or less deeply, according to the more or less resistant character of the surface where they fell. Their remains are crumbling away on exposure to the air and sun, and the rain has long ago washed away all prominent masses. The enclosed diamonds have remained scattered in the river-beds, while the fine, light matrix has been swept away."

According to this hypothesis, the so-called volcanic pipes peculiar to all diamond-mines are simply holes bored in the solid earth by the impact of monstrous meteors—the larger masses boring the holes, while the smaller masses, disintegrating in their fall, distributed diamonds broadcast.

Bizarre as such a theory appears, I am bound to admit that there are many circumstances which show that the notion of the Heavens raining diamonds is not impossible. The most striking confirmation of the meteoric theory comes from Arizona. Here, on a broad open plain, over an area about five miles in diameter,

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have been scattered one or two thousand masses of metallic iron, the fragments varying in weight from half a ton to a fraction of an ounce. There is little doubt that these masses formed part of a meteoric shower, although no record exists as to when the fall took place.

Curiously enough, near the centre, where most of the meteorites have been found, is a crater with raised edges three-quarters of a mile in diameter and about six hundred feet deep, bearing exactly the appearance which would be produced had a mighty mass of iron struck the ground and buried itself deep under the surface. Altogether, ten tons of this iron have been collected and specimens of the Cañon Diablo meteorite are in most collectors' cabinets.

An ardent mineralogist, the late Dr. Foote, cutting a section of this meteorite, found the tools were injured by something vastly harder than metallic iron. He examined the specimen chemically, and soon after announced to the scientific world that the Cañon Diablo meteorite contained black and transparent diamonds. This startling discovery was afterwards verified by Professors Moissan and Freidel; and Moissan, working on a piece of the Cañon Diablo meteorite, has recently found smooth black diamonds and transparent diamonds, in the form of octahedra with rounded edges, together with green hexagonal crystals of carbon silicide. The presence of carbon silicide in the meteorite shows that it must, at some time, have experienced the temperature of the electric furnace.

Under atmospheric influences the iron would rapidly oxidize and rust away, and the meteoric diamonds would be unaffected and left on the surface of the soil, to be found haphazard when oxidation had removed the last proof of their celestial origin. That there are still lumps of iron left in Arizona is merely due to the extreme dryness of the climate and the comparatively short time the iron has been on our planet. We are witnesses to the course of an event which may have happened in geologic times anywhere on the earth's surface.

Although in Arizona diamonds have fallen from the skies, confounding our senses, this descent of precious stones is what may be called a freak of Nature rather than a normal occurrence. To the average reader it is now known that there is no great difference between the composition of our earth and that of ex-

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traterrestrial masses. The mineral peridot is present in most meteorites. Yet no one doubts that peridot is also a true constituent of rocks formed on this earth. The spectroscope reveals that the elementary composition of the stars and the earth are pretty much the same. The spectroscope also shows that meteorites have as much of earth as of heaven in their composition. Indeed, not only are the selfsame elements present in meteorites, but they are combined in the same way to form the same minerals as in the crust of the earth.

It is certain from observations I have made, corroborated by experience gained in the laboratory, that iron at a high temperature and under great pressure—conditions existent at great depths below the surface of the earth—acts as the long-sought solvent for carbon, and will allow it to crystallize out in the form of diamond. But it is also certain, from the evidence afforded by the Arizona and other meteorites, that similar conditions have existed among bodies in space, and that on more than one occasion a meteorite freighted with jewels has fallen as a star from the sky.

Many circumstances point to the conclusion that the diamond of the chemist and the diamond of the mine are strangely akin as to origin. It is evident that the diamond has not been formed *in situ* in the blue ground where it is found. The genesis must have taken place at vast depths under enormous pressure. The explosion of large diamonds on coming to the surface shows extreme tension. More diamonds are found in fragments and splinters than in perfect crystals; and it is noteworthy that, although these splinters and fragments must be derived from the breaking up of a large crystal, yet in only one instance have pieces been found which could be fitted together; and these occurred at different levels. Does not this fact point to the conclusion that the blue ground is not their true matrix? Nature does not make fragments of crystals. As the edges of the crystals are still sharp and unabraded, the *locus* of formation cannot have been very distant from the present sites. There were probably many sites of crystallization differing in place and time, or we should not see such distinctive characters in the gems from different mines, nor indeed in diamonds from different parts of the same mine.

Although my experiments are chiefly connected with the physi-

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cal and chemical properties of diamonds, and with researches on the perplexities of their probable formation, it will be a kind of compensation for some of my theories if I bring before the reader the general character of the South-African diamond-mines and their surroundings.

The most famous diamond-mines in the world are Kimberley, De Beers, Dutoitspan, Bulfontein and Wesselton. Kimberley is practically in the centre of the present diamond-producing area. The five diamond-mines are all contained in a precious circle three and one-half miles in diameter. They are irregular-shaped round or oval pipes, extending vertically downwards to unknown depths, and becoming narrower as the depth increases. They are considered to be volcanic necks filled from below with a heterogeneous mixture of fragments of surrounding rocks, and of older rocks, such as granite, mingled and cemented with a bluish-colored hard mass, in which famous "blue ground" the imbedded diamonds are hidden.

How the great pipes were originally formed it is hard to say. They were certainly not burst through in the ordinary manner of volcanic eruption, since the surrounding and enclosing walls show no signs of igneous action, and are not shattered or broken up even when touching the "blue ground." It is pretty certain that these pipes were filled from below after they were pierced, and the diamonds were formed at some previous time and mixed with a mud volcano, together with all kinds of débris eroded from the rocks through which it erupted, forming a geological "plum pudding." A more wildly heterogeneous mixture can hardly be found anywhere else on this globe.

It may be that each volcanic pipe is the vent for its own laboratory—a laboratory buried at vastly greater depths than we have yet reached—where the temperature is comparable with that of the electric furnace, where the pressure is fiercer than in our puny laboratories and the melting-point higher, where no oxygen is present, and where masses of liquid carbon have taken centuries, perhaps thousands of years, to cool to the solidifying-point.

In 1903 the Kimberley mine had reached a depth of 2,599 feet. Tunnels are driven from the various shafts at different levels, about 120 feet apart, to cross the mine from west to east. These tunnels are connected by two other tunnels running north and south. The scene belowground in the labyrinth of galleries is

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bewildering in its complexity, and very unlike the popular notion of a diamond-mine. All below is dirt, mud, grime; half-naked men dark as mahogany, lithe as athletes, dripping with perspiration, are seen in every direction, hammering, picking, shovelling, wheeling the trucks to and fro, keeping up a weird chant which rises in force and rhythm when a greater task calls for excessive muscular strain. The whole scene is more suggestive of a coal-mine than of a diamond-mine, and all this mighty organization—this strenuous expenditure of energy, this costly machinery, this ceaseless toil of skilled and black labor—goes on day and night, just to win a few stones wherewith to deck my lady's finger! All to gratify the vanity of woman! "And," I hear my fair reader remark, "the depravity of man!"

Prodigious diamonds are not so uncommon as is generally supposed. Diamonds weighing over an ounce (151.5 carats) are not unfrequent at Kimberley. I have seen in one parcel of stones eight perfect ounce crystals, and one inestimable stone weighing two ounces. The largest known diamond, the "Cullinan," was found in the New Premier Mine. It weighs no less than 3,025 carats, or 1.37 pounds avoirdupois. It is a fragment, probably less than half, of a distorted octahedral crystal. The other portions still await discovery by some fortunate miner.

At the close of the year 1904, ten tons of diamonds had come from these mines, valued at $300,000,000. This mass of blazing gems could be accommodated in a box five feet square and six feet high. The diamond has a peculiar lustre, and on the sorter's table it is impossible to mistake it for any other stone. It looks somewhat like clear gum arabic. From the sorting-room the stones are taken to the Diamond Office to be cleaned in acids and sorted into classes by the valuators, according to color and purity. It is a sight for Aladdin to behold the sorters at work. In the Kimberley treasure store the tables are literally heaped with stones won from the rough blue ground—stones of all sizes, purified, flashing and of inestimable price; stones coveted by men and women all the world over.

Where fabulous riches are concentrated into so small a bulk, it is not surprising that precautions against robbery are elaborate. The Illicit Diamond-Buying Laws are very stringent; and the searching, rendered easy by the "compounding" of the natives, is of the most drastic character. The value of stolen diamonds

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at one time reached nearly $5,000,000 a year. Now the safeguard against this is the "compound." This is a large square, about twenty acres, surrounded by rows of one-story buildings, divided into rooms holding about twenty natives each.

Within the enclosure is a store where the necessaries of life are supplied at a reduced price, and wood and water free. In the middle is a large swimming-bath with fresh water running through it. The rest of the space is devoted to games, dances, concerts and any other amusement the native mind can desire. In the compound are to be seen representatives of nearly all the picked types of African tribes. The clothing in the compound is diverse and original. Some of the men are evident dandies, whilst others think that in so hot a climate a bright-colored handkerchief or "a pair of spectacles and a smile" is as great a compliance with the requirements of civilization as can be expected.

One Sunday afternoon, my wife and I walked unattended about the compound, almost the only whites present among 1,700 natives. At one part a Kaffir was making a pair of trousers with a bright nickel-plated sewing-machine, in which he had invested his savings. Next to him, a "boy" was reading from the Testament in his own language to an attentive audience. In a corner, a party were engaged in cooking a savory mess in an iron pot; and, further on, the orchestra was tuning up, and Zulus were putting the finishing-touches to their toilet of feathers and beads. One group was intently watching a mysterious game. It is played by two sides, with stones and grooves and hollows in the ground, and appears to be of most absorbing interest. It seems to be universal throughout Africa; it is met with among the ruins of Zimbabwe, and signs of it are recorded on old Egyptian monuments.

A word as to the hardness of diamonds. They vary much in this respect; even different parts of the same crystal differ in their resistance to cutting and grinding. So hard is diamond in comparison to glass that a suitable splinter of diamond will plane curls off a glass plate as a carpenter's tool will plane shavings off a deal board. Another experiment that will illustrate its hardness is to place a diamond on the flattened end of a conical block of steel, and upon it bring another similar cone of steel. If I force them together with hydraulic power I can

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force the stone into the steel blocks without injuring the diamond in the least. The pressure which I have brought to bear in this experiment has been equal to 170 tons per square inch of diamond.

The only serious rival of the diamond in hardness is the metal tantalum. In an attempt to bore a hole through a plate of this metal, a diamond drill was used revolving at the rate of 5,000 revolutions per minute. This whirling force was continued ceaselessly for three days and nights, when it was found that only a small point, one-fourth of a millimetre deep, had been drilled, and it was a moot point which had suffered most damage, the diamond or the tantalum.

After exposure for some time to the sun, many diamonds glow in a dark room. One beautiful green diamond in my collection, when phosphorescing in a vacuum, gives almost as much light as a candle, and you can easily read by its rays. But the time has hardly come when we can use diamonds as domestic illuminants! Mrs. Kunz, wife of the well-known New York mineralogist, possesses perhaps the most remarkable of all phosphorescing diamonds. This prodigy diamond will phosphoresce in the dark for some minutes after being exposed to a small pocket electric light, and if rubbed on a piece of cloth a long streak of phosphorescence appears.

For the manufacture of a diamond, the first necessity is to select pure iron—free from sulphur, silicon, phosphorus, and so forth—and to pack it in a carbon crucible with pure charcoal from sugar. The crucible is then put into the body of the electric furnace, and a powerful arc formed close above it between carbon poles, utilizing a current of 700 amperes at 40 volts pressure. The iron rapidly melts and saturates itself with carbon. After a few minutes' heating to a temperature above 4,000° C.—a temperature at which the iron melts like wax and volatilizes in clouds—the current is stopped, and the dazzling fiery crucible is plunged beneath the surface of cold water, where it is held till it sinks below a red heat.

As is well known, iron increases in volume at the moment of passing from the liquid to the solid state. The sudden cooling solidifies the outer layer of iron and holds the inner molten mass in a tight grip. The expansion of the inner liquid on solidifying produces an enormous pressure, and under the stress of this pressure the dissolved carbon separates out in transparent forms

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—minutely microscopic, it is true—but all the same veritable diamonds, with crystalline form and appearance, color, hardness and action on light the same as the natural gem.

Now commences the tedious part of the process. The metallic ingot is attacked with hot nitro-hydrochloric acid until no more iron is dissolved. The bulky residue consists chiefly of graphite, together with translucent chestnut-colored flakes of carbon, black opaque carbon as hard as diamonds—black diamonds, in fact—and a small portion of transparent colorless diamonds showing crystalline structure.

The residue is first heated for some hours with strong sulphuric acid at the boiling-point, with the cautious addition of powdered nitre. It is then well washed, and for two days allowed to soak in strong hydrofluoric acid in cold, then in boiling, acid. After this treatment the soft graphite disappears, and most, if not all, the silicon compounds have been destroyed.

Hot sulphuric acid is again applied to destroy the fluorides; and the residue, well washed, is attacked with a mixture of the strongest nitric acid and powdered potassium chlorate, kept warm —but not above 60° C., to avoid explosions. This treatment must be repeated six or eight times, when all the hard graphite will gradually be dissolved, and little else left but graphitic oxide, diamond and the harder carbonado or black diamond and boart. The residue is fused for an hour in fluorhydrate of fluoride of potassium, then boiled out in water, and again heated in sulphuric acid.

The well-washed grains which resist this energetic treatment are dried, carefully deposited on a slide and examined under the microscope. Although many fragments of crystals occur, it is remarkable I have never seen a complete crystal. All appear shattered, as if on being liberated from the intense pressure under which they were formed they burst asunder. I have singular evidence of this phenomenon. A fine piece of artificial diamond, carefully mounted by me on a microscopic slide, exploded during the night and covered the slide with fragments. This bursting paroxysm is not unknown at the Kimberley Diamond-mines.

WILLIAM CROOKES.

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PSYCHOPATHIC RULERS.

BY ALLAN McLANE HAMILTON.

EVERY nation has its period of turmoil and demoralization which is often brought about through the conduct of one or more of its rulers; and whether there be a short-lived disturbance, depending upon the isolated reign of a psychopathic monarch, or it be due to the gradual decadence inseparable from the perpetuation of an insane or immoral strain, like that, for instance, of the Bourbons, the burden of national misery, as every one knows, has at times been great indeed. It is not necessary to go back for illustrations to the insane Cæsars, to Nero or Caligula, or even to Tiberius; or to the degenerate kings or queens of a later time who had so much to do with misrule and oppression in Middle-Age Europe; for all periods are replete with examples. Historians who are untrained in psychiatry often allude only to the weakness and immorality of the individual, disregarding the origin of such defects; but modern students of mental disorder find no difficulty in recognizing the dependence of much of this upon actual disease or deterioration. It is to be regretted, therefore, that there is so little specific information from a medical point of view in most of the historical records to which we have access. Wood,* whose work upon the subject shows much patient research, is content to divide the mental attributes of the members of many royal families into classes which are denominated "intellectual," "virtuous" and "obscure," although in his tables he refers to certain subjects as being insane, melancholic, weak-minded, epileptic and imbecile, but without further analysis. Even contemporary history is barren, except so far as generalization is concerned; and various acts of cruelty, inconsistency, licentiousness or stupidity are related without any attempt at de-

* "Heredity in Royalty."

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tails. We are, therefore, greatly hampered in our researches. The older chroniclers are as apt as not to invest some strenuous and unbalanced individual with transcendental heroism or supernatural attributes who to-day would simply be called a fanatic.

It is only with to-day's knowledge of the influence of psychopathic heritage, and the development of paranoid states in persons of defective organization, that we are able to explain the place in literature of those dramatic and picturesque characters whose hysterical and delusional utterances and grandiose assertions have led without question to their acceptance as leaders of mobs, and even to their canonization.

An inspection of the records of any great European royal stock enables us to speculate with something approaching certainty as to the possible usefulness or the to-be-expected incompetence of one of a line who has come into power, and from abundant data we are usually able to study successfully the psychopathic strain of several great ruling families, especially the Bourbons, the Hapsburgs, the Oldenburgs and the Romanovs. The careful investigation of some such line, for instance, as the Bourbons will disclose wide-spread degeneration, and it is known that one notable lunatic, like "Joanna the Mad," was responsible for much of the moral and intellectual Bourbon decay. Her great-granddaughter, Marie de Medici, married Henry IV of France, "the great and good king," and the progeny immediately presented the taint of insanity which subsequently cropped out very extensively in the French and Spanish lines. The children of this monarch and his queen were, with one exception, psychopathic. The whole French and Spanish lines, from the notorious Joanna and her weak husband, Philip "the Handsome," are filled with all manner of mental disorder and degeneracy, and Philips II, III, IV and V were mentally unsound or more or less degenerate. In Russia the same thing appears. Although Peter the Great was an epileptic, and Peters II and III and Nicholas I were mentally defective, the most conspicuous example of Romanov insanity was that of Paul, son of Catherine II, herself a psychopath; whose cruelty was the direct result of delusions of persecution. "He was," says Rappoport,* "looked upon as a dangerous madman whose forcible confinement was impracticable. He finally signed an order for the arrest of his wife and children

* "The Curse of the Romanovs." By A. S. Rappoport. London, 1907.

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on the suspicion that they were accomplices in a conspiracy against his life."

The mental instability of the Stuarts in England is well known, and the House of Hanover, until the early part of the last century, was noted for its unbalanced members; the weakness and profligacy of the Georges, who were more or less deranged, were notorious, while William IV "was dull and eccentric and the victim of a psychoneurosis* . . . Queen Caroline was more insane than her foolish and dissipated husband," and it was only when the Saxe-Coburg blood was infused that it neutralized that which was synonymous with degeneracy, and with the accession of Victoria a new order of things was established to the great good of the English nation.

In every community are to be found a number of men who are so different from their fellows, by reason of their conduct and inability to accommodate themselves to ordinary social conditions, that they are looked upon as queer and eccentric. Baldwin has defined the exact place of these persons, classifying them as unfit or "anti-social," and he insists, first, that the individual must be *born to learn,* and, next, that all individuals must be born to *learn the same things.* It is also necessary that the individual be free from hereditary tendencies rendering him anti-social to a "suppressive degree."† The disposition of the ma-

* Wood: "Heredity in Royalty."

† "Suppose we take the man of striking thoughts and withal no sense of fitness,—none of the judgment about him which society has. He will go through a mighty host of discoveries every hour. The very eccentricity of his imaginations will only appeal to him for the greater admiration. He will bring his most chimerical schemes out, and air them with the same assurance with which the real inventor exhibits his. But such a man is not pronounced a genius. If his ravings about this and that are harmless, we smile and let him talk; but if his lack of judgment extends to things of grave import, or he is accompanied by equal illusions regarding himself and society in other relationships, then we classify his case and put him into the proper ward for the insane. Two of the commonest forms of such impairment of judgment are seen in the victims of 'fixed ideas,' on the one hand, and the *exaltés* on the other. These men have no true sense of values, no way of selecting the fit combinations of imagination from the unfit; and even though some transcendently true and original thought were to flit through the diseased mind of such a one, it would go as it came, and the world would wait for a man with a sense of fitness to arise and rediscover it. Men of such perversions of judgment are common among us. We all know the man who seems to be full of right and varied thought, who holds us sometimes by the power of his conceptions or the beauty of his creations, but in whose thought we yet find some incongruity, some eminently unfit element, some grotesque application, some elevation or depression from the level of commonplace truth, some ugly strain in the æsthetic

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jority of mankind is to hold such a person to account for his laches, and he is usually tolerated as a bore, or one who forms an "anti-social" judgment, or is actually held responsible for his pernicious and freaky tricks. His ideals may be high enough, and he may strive to cultivate a personal altruistic life, yet his studied desire to help and reform others often ends in mischievous disregard of those who do not need development or protection or correction, and he may be even looked upon as a "mischievous meddler." Should he be invested with power, he may imperil the peace and safety of those over whom he rules.*

This kind of altruism is in some ways quite as offensive and dangerous as actual self-interest or immorality, and is as detrimental in some instances to the welfare of the community as actual wrong-doing. It would, therefore, seem that the apparent unselfishness of the mentally unbalanced is almost as much fraught with danger to a people as corrupt self-interest. Persistent effort, energy and fixity of purpose, even for the accomplishment of seemingly important results, of course do not in themselves of necessity indicate sanity. An erroneous fixed idea, no matter how lofty, if irrational and obstinately entertained, may be highly dangerous in its consequences, as all psychiatrists know. The true tests, after all, are the existence of consistency and continuity, of thought and action; the presence of sufficient and proper basis for the exercise of will; the realization of the conditions of existing order which are believed in and accepted by the majority; the avoidance of disorderly impulses, which are inconsistent with proper self-control; and the regard for the general social comfort of one's kind.

Many individuals, while not necessarily insane in a way to necessitate their being shut up, are at all times making their

impression. The man himself does not know it, and that is the reason that he includes it. His sense of fitness is dwarfed or paralyzed. We in the community come to regret that he is so 'visionary,' with all his talent; and so we accommodate ourselves to his unfruitfulness, and at the best only expect an occasional hour's entertainment under the spell of his presence. This certainly is not the man to produce a world movement."—JAMES MARK BALDWIN: "Mental Development," etc., page 160, section 107.

* The possible explanation of the apparent lawlessness of those who hold that the end justifies the means is that of Plutarch, who says: "There is a necessity, if a man must do wrong by detail, who will do right in gross, and injustice in little things that will come to justice in great." In the interpretation of this, we are confronted with the danger of the exercise of an anti-social judgment.

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presence unpleasantly felt in the community. Some of them are kept more or less in order by their environment, or by restraint of various kinds which is inseparable from communal requirements and interests. These persons are quite likely under slight excitement or opposition, or perhaps dissipation, or even too much license, to indulge in conduct which is so characteristic as to be recognized by most normal people and to be especially clear to alienists. When their psychosis has developed sufficiently, it may be expressed by expansion, and false and exaggerated ideas of personal power; by vanity, love of display and personal decoration, and a futile attempt to correct the abuses supposed to exist by the person of diseased intellect, who is always prone to magnify trivial things or those in conflict with his morbid ego. Psychiatrists are familiar with such defects, for there is a well-known disorder called *paranoia reformatoria** which is expressed in erratic attempts at social betterment when none are needed, and in disorderly efforts which usually fall far short of accomplishment. Another class come under the head of what is known as *querulants,* whose unhinging is usually manifested by purposeless and unnecessary litigation; while ideas of persecution and conspiracy are accompaniments of both forms to a greater or less degree. Unfortunately for these people, they are too often looked upon simply as eccentric members of society, possessing the full responsibility of their mentally healthy fellows, thus escaping care and treatment, or detention; while in reality they often go through life bringing trouble upon themselves and others. It can easily be conceived how, in other countries than our own, an autocratic monarch may subject his people to all sorts of cruel oppression, his derangement being entirely unappreciated. All of these subjects are more or less "constitutionally inferior"; and, like certain high-grade imbeciles, they are perhaps exceedingly brilliant in some directions while deficient in others. There is, however, a conspicuous lack of stability in all their plans, and a want of consistency in what they say and do. They are obsessed by the *cacoethes* both of *loquendi* and

* "The psychopath is apt to pose as a champion of justice, as an avenger of humanity. He is given to anarchistic ideas, seeks to interfere in public affairs, to become the leader of popular movements, and he succeeds but too often. His conduct is often inconsistent with his ideas of justice and charity, though he fails to see it himself. Theoretically, he strives for the good of the Universe; practically, for the satisfaction of his own egotistic tendencies."—DE FURSAC.

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scribendi, and the literature of the insane furnishes us with striking examples of verbosity; their oral and written productions being quite characteristic. Specimens of the writings of the expansive insane are not only redundant in exalted phrase and florid rhetoric, but in energetic invective as well.

While it is easy, as has been said, in other countries than our own to beware of certain pitfalls, or to know what to expect from degenerate monarchs, it cannot be denied that there is a great danger attached to all republican forms of government, no matter in what part of the world, where new presidents are chosen every few years, about whose antecedents and mental health little or nothing is known. While we are careful enough to question the political principles and declarations of such candidates as present themselves for this high office, no proper or adequate attempt has ever been made to analyze the mental integrity of presidential or other nominees, or to question for a moment the existence of any bad heredity or any previously expressed trouble, which, under the prod and stress of newly acquired power and great responsibility, may develop into a psychosis. It may be seen, when such is the case, that an entire country may be exposed to the gravest consequences through the unrestrained influence of an irresponsible demagogue, who may even impress others by his apparently lofty, but really visionary, ideas. The worst of it is that nearly always the *unfit,* and especially the educated unfit, is very apt to impose upon others by the display of a certain kind of superficial mental brilliancy, or by something akin to genius; but this, like all the rest, is merely a flash in the pan in the productions of such persons in whom there may be underlying mental disorder. Attention may be called to the fact that lately in the United States a movement has been inaugurated to remove from the public service, especially from the army, certain individuals whose alleged mental instability, it has been held, interfered with the proper discharge of their duties; but the way in which this has been done leaves much to be desired, and the reform is not thorough or far-reaching enough.

In other times than ours there have been occasions when nations, fretting under the oppression and misrule of licentious monarchs, have unhesitatingly accepted the leadership of some fanatic whose initial attempts to bring them freedom have for

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a time been successful, but ultimately the psychopath has always asserted himself. Every one in this connection must recall the career of Cola di Rienzi, who, in the fourteenth century, for a long time exercised his fanatic sway, and put in operation his insane populistic and religious ideas, completely demoralizing Italy. Lombroso and several older writers have pictured him as a paranoiac, Lombroso analyzing his extraordinary writings. "By his fantastic eloquence he harangued the populace and with stilted oratory enchanted their ears." He soon had a mob following; and, after his usurpation of power, he first brought about a number of apparent reforms through the exercise of stringent measures which appealed to the masses. He abolished the rather aristocratic and licentious Roman Senate, rearranged taxes, and ordered that the granaries should be opened for public use. When his insanity became pronounced, he next insisted that confession should be made once a year under penalty of confiscation of one-third of a person's property. He became more and more unbearable, and his religious vagaries and enthusiasm were such that he compelled immediate obedience to his mandates, comparing himself to Christ; he believed in mysticism and symbols, and upon one occasion he waved his sword three times to the known divisions of the world and said: "They too belong to me." He became "incapable of undertaking any resolution which was not merely theoretical." His early more or less altruistic conduct was followed by erratic excesses, and a violent death, yet there are many to-day who think that he was anything but insane. There was something very characteristic in his behavior, and much in common with that of various unbalanced persons who hold the public ear from time to time. Such individuals, despite their pathological egoism, are themselves susceptible to suggestion from all sources, which perhaps is first sought for the satisfaction to be derived from the possible praise and mob-approval it may bring, and again a preternaturally active and disorderly mind is ready to take hints which it amplifies and makes its very own. In speaking of the crowd, Le Bon says:

"The leader has most often started as one of the led. He has himself been hypnotized by the idea whose apostle he has since become. It has taken possession of him to such a degree that everything outside it vanishes, and that every contrary opinion appears to him an error or a superstition. An example in point is Robespierre hypnotized by the

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philosophical ideas of Rousseau, and employing methods of the Inquisition to propagate them. . . . Nations have never lacked leaders, and the latter have by no means been animated by those strong emotions proper to apostles. These leaders are often subtle rhetoricians, seeking only their own personal interests and endeavoring to persuade by flattering base instincts. The influence they exert in this manner may be very great, but it is always ephemeral. The men of crowds, the Peter the Hermits, the Luthers, the Savonarolas, the men of the French Revolution, have only exercised their fascination after having been themselves fascinated first of all by a creed. They are then able to call up in the souls of their fellows that fond dream of power known as faith, which renders a man the absolute slave of his dream."*

The existence of mob feeling, it is unnecessary to say, is just now making itself felt in the condition of unsettlement, and not a little of it is due to the existence of a temporary emotional instability which should be out of place in a country like ours, where Anglo-Saxon ideals have always existed and where sturdy men of healthy mentality have always governed us. Perhaps we are more than ever in need of discipline and the controlling influence of official dignity, for never in the history of the country has our population been so heterogeneous, and so susceptible to the influence of the moment as it is at the present time. Within the past few years there have been landed upon our shores an unassimilated crowd of "undesirable" emigrants, many of whom are the unfit of overcrowded Europe, and have come here with an absolutely erroneous idea of what they are to find or what they are to do, and are quite ignorant of our law or social customs. Many of them undoubtedly soon learn to believe that we are a swashbuckling, restless people, eminently selfish and undisciplined, and that the one thing for them to do is to "hustle," and that this must be done with an utter disregard for the feelings and rights of others; to find that older and slower business methods, even if stable and honest, are for the time discarded, for money must be made quickly and easily. No longer does reasonable contentment prevail. The strenuous and extreme life of excitement and unrest is expressed in general discontent, and the alleged interference with the rights of the unreasonable working-men who in turn find warm sympathizers in high places. What is really wanted is an example of unquestioned dignity, and the logical and unvarying administration of justice which requires absolute mental lucidity and poise.

* "The Crowd," pp. 134–135.

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The power vested in a President of the United States is so great that if there be not sanity, self-control and self-respect, and a regard for the rights of every one, its immoderate and irrational use may be readily directed in a way which may be compared with the tyranny of any of the worst monarchs of other ages. President Roosevelt has elsewhere said:*

"The President of the United States occupies a position of peculiar importance. In the whole world there is probably no other ruler, certainly no other ruler under free institutions, whose power compares with his. Of course a despotic king has even more, but no constitutional monarch has as much."

The investiture, therefore, of power in an unstable person is likely to lead to an abuse of privilege, and a quasi-delusional assumption of the right to regulate in an arbitrary way the affairs of a great nation with a total disregard of individual rights.

In these days of mediocre or erratic rulers in all parts of the world, it is at least comforting to look back into the annals of Japan, a nation whose early traditions are replete with the deeds of great and sane men, and those who prate about "higher civilization" and the "supremacy of the white races" are referred to the comments of Lafcadio Hearn† upon the career of one of the greatest of Japanese rulers—Iyéyasu, who was a striking combination of a fearless warrior and a temperate statesman. Says Hearn:

"He was of Minamato descent and an aristocrat to the marrow of his bones. As a soldier, he was scarcely inferior to Hidéyoshi, whom he once defeated,—but he was much more than a soldier: a far-sighted statesman, an incomparable diplomat, and something of a scholar; cool, cautious, secretive,—distrustful, yet generous,—stern, yet humane. By the range and the versatility of his genius he might be not unfavorably contrasted with Julius Cæsar."

The influence of this great man lasted 250 years; and long after his death the house of Tokugawa gave to the Japanese prosperity and peace under fifteen Shoguns; and, in fact, until 1867,—when we civilized them.

ALLAN MCLANE HAMILTON.

* "The Works of Theodore Roosevelt," vol. I, page 1.
† "Japan: An Interpretation," by Lafcadio Hearn, p. 303.

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CORPORATIONS IN MODERN BUSINESS.*

BY GEORGE W. PERKINS.

In the modern corporation we are confronted with a fact and not a theory. Whatever may be the individual attitude towards it, the corporation is here. What caused it, what it is doing and what is to become of it are live questions, vital to all the people.

A corporation, in a way, is but another name for organization. Broadly speaking, the first form of organization between human beings, of which we know, was the clan or tribe, in which the every-day conduct of the individuals was determined by the necessities of the group. This passed on into national organization, and then came the Church as a growing and vast organization. Latest of all has come the organizing of business.

But before all this, in the very beginning of things, the universe was organized—and all that man has done in society, in the Church, in business, and all that he ever can do in the centuries to come, can never bring to pass so complete a form of organization, so vast a trust, so centralized a form of control, as passes before our eyes in each twenty-four hours of our lives as we contemplate that all-including system of perfect organization called the universe. It does not require a very vivid imagination to picture the waste, the destruction, the chaos that would follow if there were not perfect organization, perfect co-operation, perfect regulation, perfect control in the affairs of the universe. How could we live, for example, if there were constant competition between day and night, or a constant struggle for supremacy between the seasons? Does any one, for a moment, think that he would prefer such a condition to the co-operation that now exists through all the affairs of the universe?

* The substance of an address delivered at Columbia University.

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Organization being the all-permeating principle of the universe, the presumption is, therefore, in favor of organization wherever we find it or wherever it can be used. The corporation of to-day is entitled to that presumption; its underlying cause is not the greed of man for wealth and power, but the working of natural causes—of evolution.

Business was originally done by individuals trading with one another; then by a firm of two or more individuals; then by a company; then by a corporation, and latterly by a giant corporation or what is commonly (though perhaps inaccurately) called a "trust." Each step was brought about by some great change that took place in the conditions under which the people of the world lived and worked; each step was, in fact, mainly determined by discoveries and inventions of the human mind.

With the ox-team and the hoe we had men trading as individuals with individuals; with the sailing-vessel and the stage-coach we had trade carried on by firms; with the advent of the company we had the locomotive, the steamboat, the reaping-machine and the telegraph; with the birth of the larger corporation we had the express train, the Atlantic cable, the ocean liner, the local telephone, the seeder, the reaper and the binder; with the giant corporation came the Twentieth Century Limited, the crossing of the ocean in five days, the long-distance telephone, wireless telegraphy and a great extension of machinery into agricultural work.

In our forefathers' time it took about half as long to sail down the Hudson River from Albany to New York as it now takes to cross the Atlantic. The actual distance from Albany to New York is no less, nor is the distance from New York to London any less, now than then; but the inventions of man have so compressed both space and time that the financial and commercial markets of America and Europe are in constant exchange with one another every moment of the day. The business man in New York or Chicago can exchange several cable messages with London or Paris during the business hours of a day, and whenever an hour is clipped off the record of an ocean greyhound the people of the world are drawn so much nearer together. Because of the inventions of man, the Great American Desert of our boyhood geographies has, within a comparatively few years, largely become a vast fertile field, and, again, because of these inventions,

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coupled with organized business methods, the product of this vast field is being marketed in remote parts of the globe.

The days when business was a local affair of individual with individual were the days when people were scattered, knowing little of each other and having no dealings with each other outside the radius of a few miles. Then steam and, later, electricity came into man's service; and then, by leaps and bounds, the possibilities of trade became extended to a radius of hundreds of miles, even of thousands of miles. Vast possibilities of international trade loomed up. The corporation sprang into active being as an inevitable result of this expansion of trade; for no one man, no firm, no small company, could provide the capital or the organization to cope with such opportunities. The only bridge that can span the ocean is the corporation. The real cause of the corporation was not so much the selfish aims of a few men as the imperative necessities of all men.

The first stage of corporationism was one of conflict—the old destructive competition carried forward under the new business forms. Trade could be carried further, much further, than before; and so A invaded B's territory and B retaliated. The fighting became faster and more furious, and the war in commerce became a hand-to-hand conflict. The trenches were being filled with able, splendid men who fell in the colossal struggles. Cut rates and rebates became the order of the day. Many railroads and many houses which had been successful in legitimate lines of business went down in bankruptcy. Labor suffered and the public suffered. The cost of doing business steadily increased; for war costs money. It became imperative that something be done to end the havoc. Prosperity could come only with peace. Instinctively, in a way unconsciously, men began to get together —not so much for profit as for protection; and so, under conditions which, in the mechanical development of the world, came on as naturally as day follows night, the great corporation came into existence and is the live, burning issue of to-day.

Perhaps the most useful achievement of the great corporation has been the saving of waste in its particular line of business. By assembling the best brains, the best genius, the best energy in a given line of trade, and co-ordinating these in work for a common end, great results have been attained in the prevention of waste, the utilizing of by-products, the economizing in the

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manufacture of the product, the expense of selling, and through better and more uniform service.

This same grouping of men has raised the standard of their efficiency. Nothing develops man like contact with other men. A dozen men working apart and for separate ends do not develop the facility, the ideas, the general effectiveness that will become the qualities of a dozen men working together in one cause. In such work emulation plays a useful part; it does all the good and none of the harm that the old method of destructive competition did; the old competition was wholly self-seeking and often ruinous, while the new rivalry, within the limits of the same organization, is constructive and uplifting. Thus the great corporation has developed men of a higher order of business ability than ever appeared under the old conditions; and what a value this has for the coming generation! The opportunity, the inducement it provides to become all-around larger men than those of earlier generations could become!

We have heard many warnings that because of the great corporation we have been robbing the oncoming generation of its opportunities. Nothing is more absurd. The larger the corporation, the more certain is the office-boy to reach ultimately a foremost place if he is made of the right stuff, if he keeps everlastingly at it, and if he is determined to become master of each position he occupies.

In the earlier days, the individual in business, as a rule, left his business to his children—the firm to its relations. Whether or not they were competent did not determine the succession. But the giant corporation cannot act in this way. Its management must have efficiency—above and beyond all else, it must have the highest order of ability; and nothing has been more noticeable in the management of corporations in the last few years than that "influence," so called, as an element in selecting men for responsible posts, has been rapidly on the wane. Everything is giving way and must give way to the one supreme test of fitness.

And is it not possible that the accumulating of large fortunes in the future may be curtailed to a large extent through the very workings of these corporations? Are there not many advantages in having corporations in which there are a large number of positions carrying with them very handsome annual sal-

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aries, in place of firms with comparatively few partners—the annual profits of each one of whom were often so large that they amassed fortunes in a few years? A position carrying a salary so large as to represent the interest on a handsome fortune can be permanently filled only by a man of real ability, so that, in case a man who is occupying such a position dies, it must, in turn, be filled with another man of the same order—while the fortune might be and most likely would be passed on regardless of the heir's ability. Therefore, the more positions of responsibility, of trust and of honor, that carry large salaries, the more goals we have for young men whose equipment for life consists of integrity, health, ability and energy.

Furthermore, the great corporation has been of benefit to the public in being able to standardize its wares, so that they have become more uniformly good. Wages are unquestionably higher and labor is more steadily employed; for, in a given line of trade, handled to a considerable extent by a corporation, there are practically no failures; while, under the old methods of bitter, relentless warfare, failures were frequent, and failure meant paralysis for labor as well as for capital.

The great corporation is unquestionably making general business conditions sounder. It is making business steadier; for one reason, because firms inevitably change and dissolve, while a corporation may go on indefinitely. It is making business steadier, for another and more potent reason—because it is able to survey the field much better than could a large number of firms and individuals and, therefore, it is vastly better able to measure the demand for its output and, if properly managed, to prevent the accumulation of large stocks of goods that are not needed—a condition which often arose under the old methods, when many firms were in ruthless competition with one another in the same line of business, oftentimes producing serious financial difficulties for one and all.

Broadly and generally speaking, the corporation as we know it to-day, as we see it working and feel its results, is in a formative state. In many cases, actual and desperately serious situations caused it to be put together hurriedly. In many cases, serious mistakes have been made in the forms of organization, in the methods of management and in the ends that have been sought. In some instances, the necessity for corporations has grown faster

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than has the ability of men to manage them. Mistakes have been many and serious. But the corporation is with us; it is a condition, not a theory, and there are but two courses open to us—to kill it or to keep it. If you would kill it, you must kill the cause, or the thing will come back to plague you. The principal causes are steam and electricity.

Could anything be more dangerous to the public welfare than steam and electricity themselves? Then why not prohibit their use and, so far as possible, abolish them? Has any one ever suggested this? No. Why? Because their benefits were too apparent, and so we have bent our energies towards regulating and controlling them—by using all that is good in them and carefully protecting ourselves from all that is injurious. If we are not willing to exterminate the cause of corporations, we can never permanently exterminate the corporation itself. There is, then, but one thing left to do, viz., to regulate and control them; to treat them as we have treated steam and electricity; to use the best that is in them and to protect ourselves from the worst that is in them.

A large percentage of the mistakes of corporate management have occurred because managers have failed to realize that they were not in business as individuals, but were working for other people, their stockholders, whom they were in honor bound to serve honestly and faithfully; further, that they owed a duty to the general public and could, in the long run, best serve themselves and their stockholders by recognizing that duty and respecting it.

Then, too, many of our corporations, being of comparatively recent origin, have, at the outset, been managed by men who were previously in business, in some form or another, for themselves; and it has been very difficult for such men to change their point of view—to cease from looking at questions from the sole standpoint of personal gain and personal advantage, and to take the broader view of looking at them from the standpoint of the community-of-interest principle.

It is by no means clear that the danger-point in the development of corporations is found in the giant corporation. Indeed, it is more likely to be found in the corporation of lesser size; because the latter does not attract the eye of the public sufficiently to have its managers impressed with the fact that they are

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semi-public servants—responsible not only to their stockholders, but to the public as well. It is easier and more natural for a giant corporation to adopt a policy of publicity with the public and of fair-dealing with its associates in the same trade, because such a course, from the broad, far-reaching view of the great corporation, becomes the wisest, most successful course. Then, again, the relation of the giant corporation to its labor is an entirely different relation from that of the small corporation or the firm to its labor; the officers and trustees of a giant corporation instinctively lose sight of the interest of any one individual, because such interest at best is infinitesimal compared with the whole. This places the officers and trustees of the giant corporation in a position where they can look on all labor questions without bias and without any personal axe to grind—solely from the broadest possible standpoint of what is fair and right between the public's capital, which they represent, and the public's labor, which they employ. In short, they assume on all such matters the attitude of the real trustee, the impartial judge, the intelligent, well-posted and fair arbitrator.

The great semi-public business corporations of the country, whether they be insurance, railroad or industrial, have in our day become not only vast business enterprises, but great trusteeships; and there would be far less attacking of corporations if this truth were more fully realized and respected. The larger the corporation becomes, the greater become its responsibilities to the entire community. Moreover, the larger the number of stockholders, the more it assumes the nature of an institution for savings.

It is not sufficient in corporate management to do the best one can from day to day. Corporate responsibility extends beyond to-day. The foresight, the planning ahead, the putting the house in order for the storms of the future, are the true measure of the best and highest stewardship, as well as of the highest order of managerial ability.

The corporations of the future must be those that are semi-public servants, serving the public, with ownership widespread among the public, and with labor so fairly and equitably treated that it will look upon its corporation as its friend and protector rather than as an ever-present enemy—above all, believing in it so thoroughly that it will invest its savings in the corporation's

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securities and become working partners in the business. It would have been impossible, in the day of the ox-team, for people in every State of this Union to be partners in any one business; and yet to-day we have at least one giant corporation made up of partners resident not only in every one of our States, but in almost every country in the world, and reinforced by thousands of its own employees having become stockholders themselves.

During the past few months, when the campaign against corporations was most intense, when our country was in a turmoil of business perplexity and doubt, the people who, we are told, have so suffered because of the trusts and are so bitterly opposed to their existence, have been investing in these very securities to an unprecedented extent. To illustrate: During the past year the stockholders of the Great Northern Railway have increased in number from 2,800 to over 11,000. The stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad have increased from 40,000 to 57,000. The stockholders of the New York Central have increased from 10,000 to over 21,000. During the same period, the number of the stockholders in the Steel Corporation increased by over 30,000; the total number of individuals holding stock in that corporation now exceeds 100,000, and the average holding of the $868,000,000 of stock of the Steel Corporation is to-day about 98 shares per person. Can there, then, be any question that these great institutions have become semi-public? And when we contemplate the alternative of exterminating or of regulating them, must we not realize that they are owned not by a few individuals, but by a vast number of people representing our thriftiest class? That these corporations have thus become not only vast business enterprises, but great and growing institutions for savings, surely imposes a new and more sacred responsibility not only upon corporation managers, but upon legislators as well.

If the managers of the giant corporations feel themselves to be semi-public servants, and desire to be so considered, they must, of course, welcome supervision by the public, exercised through its chosen representatives who compose the Government. Those who ask the public to invest money in an enterprise are in honor bound to give the public, at stated intervals, evidence that the business in question is ably and honestly conducted; and they should be not only willing, but glad, that some authority, properly constituted by our Government, should say to stockholders and the

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public from time to time that the management's reports and methods of business are correct. They should be willing to do this for their own relief of mind, since the responsibility of the management of a giant corporation is so great that the men in control should be glad to have it shared by proper public officials representing the people in a governmental capacity.

There is scarcely a corporation manager of to-day, who is alive to his responsibilities, to the future growth of this country, and to the enormous opportunities before us for foreign trade, who would not welcome this kind of supervision, could he but feel that it would come from the National Government, acting through an intelligent and fair-minded official; but to be faced with the requirement to report to and be supervised and regulated by forty or fifty governments, with varying ideas and laws, of course suggests difficulties that are almost insurmountable obstacles. For business purposes, at least in the larger business affairs of this country and from a practical standpoint, State lines have been obliterated. The telegraph, the express train and the long-distance telephone have done their work. For business purposes in this country the United States Government is a corporation with fifty subsidiary companies, and the sooner this is realized the sooner we can get the right kind of supervision of semi-public business enterprises, and, in this way, give the public the publicity and the protection to which it is entitled in the conduct of business by corporations. In no other way can the public be protected from evils in corporation management.

The criticism is often made that this would amount to bringing business into politics. That depends. We have at Washington a Supreme Court. Membership in that most honorable body is the goal of every aspiring lawyer. If, for distinguished service and ability, we honor lawyers by promoting them to decide our most difficult legal questions, why should we not honor our railroad men by promoting them to decide our most difficult railroad questions, our industrial men the industrial questions? For example: If we had at Washington a Railroad Board of Control, and that Board were composed of practical railroad men, would not membership in such a Board come gradually to be the goal of railroad men? And does any one, for a moment, think that if such a Board were composed of practical railroad men it would be especially partial to railroad interests? Certainly not.

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Once on such a Board a man could not fail to recognize the great responsibility and honor of the office, and administer it for the best interests of the public and of the railroads at one and the same time. Thus the business man would merge into the public official, no longer controlled by the mere business view, and would act the part of a statesman, to the improvement of governmental administration and not to the lowering of its level.

This kind of expert, high-minded supervision would not be opposed by the business interests of the country. What they dread is unintelligent, inexperienced administration. National supervision, under a law requiring that those who supervise should be practical men thoroughly versed in their calling, would solve most of our difficult problems and be of the greatest possible benefit and protection to one and all.

To such rational supervision may we not look forward as a result of the sober second thought of the people and our legislators —of their calming down from the bitter denunciation of corporations which has been the prevailing outcry for some years?

In spite of what apparently has been an almost persistent determination to misunderstand or ignore his real purpose, the fact is that President Roosevelt, from the time when he was Governor of New York down to his latest message to Congress, has repeatedly proclaimed his belief that modern industrial conditions are such that combination is not only necessary, but inevitable; that corporations have come to stay, and that, if properly managed, they are the source of good and not evil.

The next period in corporation development should be a constructive one—constructive as to the relations of the corporation to its labor and to the public, and this can best be accomplished by the method of co-operation with supervision.

It is almost heresy to say that competition is no longer the life of trade, yet this has come to be the fact as applied to the old unreasoning and unreasonable competition, because of the conditions of our day. The spirit of co-operation is upon us. It must, of necessity, be the next great form of business development and progress. At this moment many people are looking askance upon the change, still believing in the old doctrine. They hold to it for several reasons: first, because they have inherited the belief; second, because they think that competition means lower prices for commodities to the public; third, because they think

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it provides the best incentive to make men work. This may have been the best-known method at one time, but it is not and cannot be true in the mechanical, electrical age in which we live.

The highly developed competitive system gave ruinously low prices at one time and unwarrantedly high prices at another time. When the low prices prevailed labor was cruelly hurt; when the high prices prevailed the public paid the bills.

From every point of view the co-operative principle is to be preferred. It is more humane, more uplifting, and, with proper supervision, must provide a more orderly conduct of business, freer from failure and abuse, guaranteeing better wages and more steady employment to labor, with a more favorable average price to the consumer—one on which he can depend in calculating his living expenses or making his business plans.

GEORGE W. PERKINS.

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THE NEW IRELAND.—I.

A REVIEW OF THE PAST.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

No attempt to interpret the Ireland of to-day can be helpful, can even be intelligible, without a constant throwing-back to the past. Other countries, Macedonia, for instance, and southern Italy and Sicily, have behind them a historical development as tortuous and mournful, as blood-soaked and convulsive; but with no country have fate and nature and human perversity dealt more harshly than with Ireland, and in none is it so indispensable that an ever-present consciousness of what has been should be the starting-point of any effort to elucidate what is. The unhappy legacy of the past culminates in the tragedy of the Irish present. You find the mark of its ravages wherever you turn, in all departments of Irish life, in the social and economic sphere as much as in the political and religious, in the mind and instinctive outlook of the people not less than in their material conditions. The resultant cannot be understood without some knowledge of the processes that have shaped it. The unique conformation which Ireland presents, intricate and astounding in any case, is a riddle in the geology of politics that cannot even be propounded aright, much less solved, without a sifting of the deposits of centuries.

Shut off from the Continent by a larger, richer, more populous and incomparably more powerful kingdom, Ireland has always differentiated from the normal type of European evolution. She was never conquered, she was never even invaded, by the Romans; she escaped altogether the ordeal which was to prove the birth-throe of most Western civilizations. The Celts who had overrun the land and absorbed the aborigines long before the dawn of Irish history found in its isolation a refuge secure from the

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Roman legions. In Ireland the Celtic form of society, Celtic customs and characteristics, and the Celtic tongue developed with a freedom and in a seclusion unparalleled elsewhere. The Irish grew up the most primitive and the least spoiled of Aryan peoples. The keystone of their organization was the tribal system, with its communal holding of land, its elective chiefs, its cement of a real or reputed kinship, its self-governing septs, and its overwhelming inclination towards a pastoral life. The tribes had probably little effective unity. The rivers, marshes and woods would alone have sufficed to prevent the growth of anything resembling a State. Tribal wars were frequent, and beyond a vague acknowledgment of common customs and a common language the groups had neither the framework nor the consciousness of a more embracing union. Yet this loosely organized system, without collective coherence or efficiency, but strong and rigid in its parts, with no centralized seat of authority, and constitutionally fatal to both social and political progress, lasted on in Ireland for centuries after it had disappeared from the rest of Europe. Even as an institution it was not finally uprooted until the reign of Elizabeth, and as an economic, social and intellectual influence it persists to this day. Tribalism penetrated the Irish mind with the conviction that the Irish soil belonged of right to the Irish people, and this conviction, after embroiling Anglo-Irish relations and baffling British domination for seven and a half centuries, has now all but extinguished landlordism and is creating a peasant proprietary by the free use of English credit. Here and there you may still encounter in Ireland forms of land-holding—a ten-acre field, for instance, split up into scattered fragments among a dozen or more tenants—that are essentially tribal. Tribalism, again, fostered an intensive spirit of conservatism, and the Celtic Irish have an almost Malayan aversion to change. It subordinated home life to the life of the sept, and the Irish are still a distinctively gregarious people. It encouraged pasture and discouraged labor, and Ireland to-day is predominantly a stock-raising country, and has yet to assimilate the gospel of work. It promoted internecine feuds, and the spirit of faction permeates native Irish life to this moment. It shielded, as nothing else could, the mind and temperament and customs of the people from external influences, and no one can visit Ireland to-day without being made conscious of a strain of almost una-

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dulterated Asiaticism in some of the workings of the Irish mind, in certain traits of the people's character, in several of their instinctive ways of looking at things, and in many of their social usages. When Lord Dufferin described the Bengali as the Irishman of the East it was not on the Bengali alone that he threw a light.

The strength which tribalism derived from the very looseness of its organization and from the impossibility of overthrowing it at a single stroke was shown by the manner of its conversion to Christianity. It adopted the new religion, but was not absorbed by it. The people became Christians, but the Church to a far greater degree became Celtic, and for some centuries remained somewhat isolated from the Western communion. While unable to graft her law on the tribes, she raised Ireland to a brief but high pre-eminence in learning and the arts. Irish missionaries spread over the Continent; the Irish monasteries attracted scholars from all over Europe; and the subtle and intricate traceries and spirals of Celtic design developed under the tutelage of the Church into a new and brilliant school of metal-work and illumination. But influences that might in time have knit Ireland with the broad movement of European progress were checked and dissipated by foreign invasion. The Danes swept over the island, an ecclesiastical exodus followed, and the country fell back again into its self-contained aloofness. The Celts were never a commercial or seafaring people, and the Danes from the few seaports in the south and east to which they were finally penned quickly gathered into their own hands whatever foreign trade there was. It is true the Church was reorganized on a Latin basis, and thus came once more into tentative touch with the temporal power of Rome. But it has always been the fate of Ireland to lie more or less in a backwater and to give to the world more than she receives from it. For three and a half centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion, tribalism, somewhat modified by the influence of the new settlers, continued to imprison the faculties of her people and to intensify their separateness. The Reformation came not to touch her with a new vitality, but to confuse and embitter her social and political development with a sectarian contentiousness. Drawn into the wars of religion, Ireland experienced a momentary contact with countries other than England. But it was of too one-sided a character to stem

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the current of Anglicization. The Catholic Powers used Ireland as a pawn and Irish soil as an occasional battle-ground; they enrolled Irish officers and troops in their Continental armies; men of Irish birth rose to power and honor in their councils. But they gave back nothing in return, and except for a glimpse now and then of a Spanish type of countenance in Kerry and of Spanish architecture in Galway one would not guess to-day that Ireland had ever come within the range of any European influence but England's. With hardly a break or deflection the English type of civilization has steadily imposed itself from the sixteenth century till to-day. The American Revolution had its reflex action on Irish politics; the French Revolution evoked a short-lived outburst of republicanism in the north; some flicker of the spirit of '48 showed itself for a moment in Irish agitation; but otherwise Ireland has remained completely cut off from all except English influences. It is only within the last sixty years that the great emigrations to America, Canada and Australia have linked her, sorrowfully enough, with a wider destiny and larger interests. From the Continent, except through the medium of the Roman Catholic Church, she is still severed in sympathies, in intellect and in commerce by the interposing might of Great Britain.

This geographical isolation acting on a people naturally conservative, averse from commerce, inclined to the least progressive form of agriculture—tillage in Ireland, as Professor Goldwin Smith has rightly noted, was marked from its birth with a bar sinister—and bound long after other nations had outgrown it to a system that both reflected and fostered their intolerance of innovation, must in any case have nourished the introspective instincts of the Celts, have driven them in upon themselves, and have stamped upon Irish life an exclusive and peculiar intensity. The neighborhood of England made it not less certain that that isolation could not permanently endure. That it should have been broken, however, in a form that complicated every element of national evolution and added a new contentiousness of class, race and privilege to the interplay of tribal strife was a catastrophe for which Fate alone can be justly arraigned. The Anglo-Norman invasion, soon after the middle of the twelfth century, introduced into Ireland a body of conquerors and settlers who, while sharing the religion of the natives, differed from them in speech, in tem-

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perament, in racial characteristics and in the fundamental cast of their civilization. Feudalism from that moment confronted tribalism, an English interest the Irish people, the Teuton the Celt. Thus early in the history of Anglo-Irish relations the three cleavages of land, race and a favored faction, backed by a foreign Power and seeking to impose its rule over the native population, began to show themselves. Thus early, too, appeared the lack of definiteness which has marked from that day to this England's Irish policy. No attempt was made to effect a thorough conquest of Ireland. The Anglo-Norman settlement was never probably effective over more than a third of the Irish soil, the Normans establishing themselves in the rural parts north and south of Dublin and the English in the seacoast towns. England's interest in her colony was weak and fitful. She would neither rule it nor rule through it. Between the settlers and the tribes ensued three centuries of such border warfare as the English in America were afterwards to wage with the Red Indians. The conquest of the Celts by the settlers, the expulsion of the settlers by the Celts, were alike impossible. Inherent disunion made the attacks of the tribes spasmodic; lack of sufficient force and the barrier of river, bog and forest kept the Pale restricted to defence. Without the cement of kingship, drawn upon for the purposes of the Scottish and French wars, weakened by absenteeism and a foreign education, and harassed incessantly by the tribes, it began to dwindle and disintegrate. Edward Bruce's invasion nearly drove it to the sea. The Norman landowners in the rural districts of the settlement became gradually Celticized, while the English traders in the towns maintained their nationality intact. Feudalism and tribalism formed a patchwork fringe to a country two-thirds of which remained purely Celtic. The beginning of the sixteenth century found Ireland turned into a political dependency of England, but a dependency in which English authority hardly covered a fourth of the island. It found, too, tribalism modified but still predominant, feudalism vital but losing rather than gaining ground, and both systems already survivals of an order of things that in England and on the Continent had been left behind. But for the decisive interposition of a great historical event the Anglo-Norman settlement of Ireland would probably have been sapped or stormed.

That event was, of course, the Reformation. The English and

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Anglo-Norman colonists in town and country, and the native Celts, all professed the Catholic religion, but they maintained separate churches and a separate clergy, and each regarded the other as outside the pale of Christianity. Both races, however, were at one in rejecting the new faith. "To the Catholic lords of the Pale the Elizabethan religion was alien; to the native Celts it was not only alien, but utterly abhorred. It presented itself, not as the religion of Ireland, but as the religion of the conqueror." The warm and imaginative Celtic temperament, which has never yet found a resting-place between Rome and Geneva, revolted from the measured formalism of the Anglican creed. A people pre-eminently devoted to ceremonial rites and emblems, to sacerdotalism and to the monastic life, had no single instinct of sympathy for a movement which chose these features of their faith for its special attack. Politically, intellectually, and socially it appealed as little to their minds and to their conceptions of life and society as its spiritual essence and formulas appealed to their emotions. The ground in Ireland had never been prepared for such a revolution, nor was there the smallest impulse to welcome it when it came. The suppression of the Irish monasteries, the defacement and destruction of the hallowed shrines, statues and relics, were followed by the masses with boundless resentment. Himself a Celt, Henry VIII had initiated in Ireland a policy of secular conciliation. He approached the tribal chieftains in a shrewd and friendly spirit, hoping to form among them a native nobility, to invest them with a grant direct from the Crown of their tribe-lands, to receive in return an acknowledgment of his supremacy in Church and State, and so to establish throughout the country centres of authority from which English laws, customs and civilization might gradually radiate. But he fell into the fundamental error of ignoring the differences between feudal and tribal tenure. He treated the chiefs as the absolute owners of the land, in their share of which the tribal system allowed them no more than a life interest. The personal pledges and undertakings of a chief could bind neither the heads of the septs nor the free tribesmen who elected his successor; and the chiefs who made submission to the Crown and agreed to become the King's tenants were without the power, when once beyond the narrow range of his effective rulership, to force the compact on their tribal kinsmen. Yet if it were vio-

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lated, the Crown, by English and feudal law, claimed and exercised the right to confiscate the whole of the tribe-lands.

Thus the policy of conciliation split on the eternal rocks of religion and land. Yet it was essential for England's security that her faith and civilization should be imposed upon Ireland. As the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism broadened out into a vast European struggle, Ireland, which hitherto had been merely England's disgrace, now became England's danger. A Catholic Ireland, acknowledging Papal, but not English, sovereignty, was a formidable weapon in the hands of the anti-Protestant coalition and an insufferable menace to the concentration of England's power. The conquest of Ireland, the conversion and Anglicization of Ireland, had become political necessities. Only the effective supremacy of England over all parts of the country could forestall or at least diminish the peril that Ireland might furnish the spear-head of the shaft aimed by the Catholic Powers at England's heart. It fell to Elizabeth, who would willingly have shrunk from it, to achieve the task. Her excommunication and deposition by Papal bull forced it on her. Three great Irish rebellions, waged and suppressed with mutual and unsurpassable cruelties, filled her reign. When it closed Celtic Ireland had ceased to be; the country lay crushed, desolate and starving at England's feet. Vast forfeitures and confiscations followed, and English colonies began to be systematically planted. Protestantism was enthroned as the state religion, and conformity to it was prescribed rather than enforced; but there was, at first, no penal laws and little persecution. Protestant administrators and officials, imported from England, superseded the English of the Pale, most of whom, while not becoming rebels, had remained Catholic. But it was in the spheres of law and land and government rather than in that of religion that the fruits of the Elizabethan conquest most plainly appeared. "Ireland, conquered, now became shire land, at least in contemplation of law. The law of England, in the eyes of its professors the consummation of human wisdom, ousted the Brehon law. The feudal system of land tenure supplanted the tribal system. Freehold and leasehold, primogeniture and entail, took the place of tribal ownership and tenantry. Justice was henceforth to be administered in English courts, and judges were to go circuit as in England. . . . The whole machinery of government, as well as law and the ju-

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diciary, was at the same time assimilated, formally at least, to the English model." Throughout the seventeenth century the process of Anglicization went bloodily on. Huge grants of land were made under James I to English and Scotch settlers in Ulster and elsewhere. By seizure and escheat, by indefensible acts of legal chicanery and bad faith, the Catholic landowners, whether Celtic or Anglo-Norman, were steadily dispossessed. Protestantism, veering towards Puritanism, increased the stringency of its enactments. All the animosities of race and religion were precipitated into a fight for the land. Twice the natives rose and massacred and achieved a brief ascendency, only to see it twice torn from them. Rebellion was answered by wars of extermination, defeat by wholesale confiscations. Neither Rome nor France availed to arrest the final triumph of English power. Devastation and evictions, slaughterings, banishment, forfeitures and emigration, Cromwell and William III, numberless grants of land to individual adventurers and a systematic policy of colonization by Scotch and English settlers, made an end of the Catholic proprietors. Under a common proscription and defeat the descendants of the old Celtic chieftains and tribesmen and the descendants of the old Anglo-Norman nobility sunk their feuds, and though still speaking different languages, came to acknowledge in their misfortunes, their Catholicism and their detestation of Puritanism, a real bond of unity. Religion overrode race and nationality in the daily speech. Men spoke of Catholics when they meant the Irish, of Presbyterians when they referred to the Scotch settlers in the north, and of members of the State Church when they wished to designate the new English colonists. Five centuries of Anglo-Irish history had destroyed the native civilization, had dispossessed the people of their holdings, had marshalled on either side of the agrarian struggle the bitterest antagonisms of racial and religious strife, and had vested in a small minority of alien speech, temperament and creed practically all political power, and all the privileges of a legal, social and territorial ascendency.

For nearly a century and against inconceivable odds this minority, though divided within itself, showed the resolution of the stock from which it sprang by maintaining its supremacy unimpaired. It was a domination of Protestants, but the Protestants were not united. Half of them were Presbyterians, excluded by

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law from public offices, forced to pay tithes to a Church that they abhorred only less than they abhorred Catholicism, and separated from their co-religionists by the economic rivalries of manufacturers with landowners. Virtually all authority was in the hands of the Episcopalians. They trod the Catholic population under heel, reducing it by the ingenious iniquity of the Penal Code to a status of outlawry. They ruled the Presbyterians with a rigid and masterful pertinacity; and while dependent for their security and privileges, and indeed for their very existence, upon the power of England, they had to defend their interests against a Parliament that would grant them neither union nor independence, and that jealously repressed every promise of Irish competition with the commerce and industries of the mother country. Against this converging onset of difficulties they stood their ground for the better part of the eighteenth century with a phenomenal tenacity. Under their rule Ireland had unwonted, if artificial, peace. The country was opened up by roads and canals; civilization, the arts and humanities spread; Dublin became the second city of the Empire; and the colonists developed a new type of character that still charms by its happy union of Celtic vivacity, sensitiveness and grace with Saxon hardihood and practicality. But the abnormality of their position could only be maintained by repression and persecution on the one side and an intricate balancing of hostilities on the other. The Catholics were crushed into subjection. They were shut out from all public appointments, from Parliament, from the franchise, from the jury-box, from the police force, from the legal and learned professions. Education either at home or abroad or in a university was forbidden them. They could not keep arms or own a horse worth more than five pounds. A determined effort was made to stamp out their religion. Archbishops and bishops, monks and friars were banished. Marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic was prohibited. Catholics were not allowed to buy land or hold mortgages on it or lease it except for a short time and with limited profits or to bequeath it by will. The equal testamentary division of such estates as still remained to Catholics was made compulsory. These and similar provisions of the Penal Code attained some at least of their ends. They finally crushed the Catholic gentry of the upper and middle classes. Great numbers of them emigrated and rose to honor in the service of foreign

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Powers. Nearly all ceased to own land. But persecution failed as usual to make converts. The people clung with unconquerable firmness to their ancient faith, and the unique authority which the priesthood wields in the Ireland of to-day dates unquestionably from the enforcement of the penal laws.

The masses throughout the eighteenth century remained meanwhile in a deplorable condition, cowed but unreconciled. A liberal commercial policy might have helped them, but English statesmanship was bound to the theory that a colony was an estate whose usefulness began and ended with serving the industrial and agricultural interests of the mother country. The colonial system that induced the American Revolution was applied to Ireland with a thoroughness from which distance saved the New England settlements. Whatever industry Ireland turned to, from wool to cotton, from glass to brewing, from gloves to linen, was deliberately ruined or crippled by English legislation. The masses were flung back upon the land and the land impaled them. A fearful competition grew up among a starving and congested peasantry for the privilege of leasing from their Protestant masters, at rents that could only be paid by a progressive lowering of every social standard, a few acres of the soil that once was their own by tribal right. From their landlords they were separated by speech and creed and the memories of ferocious wars. No tie of immemorial usage sanctified or humanized the new relations of proprietor and tenant. Evictions which were unknown under the tribal and feudal systems became the common incidents of a tenure based on a one-sided contract. Many of the landlords were absentees, and their place was taken by extortionate, rack-renting middlemen. The great change from tillage to pasture that marked the early years of the century brought in the grazing speculator with his writs of ejectment. The potato became the chief, almost the sole, dietary of the peasant serfs, and the frequent failures of the crop, under their primeval methods of cultivation, entailed famine and pestilence. The tithe proctor levied his toll on their wretched earnings in support of a Church which they detested as the apostate emblem of ascendency. Of education they had none except what the priest brought them at peril of his life. Deprived of their secular leaders by the decimation of the Catholic gentry they turned to the ministers of their religion with more than the fervor of devotion they had formerly

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offered their tribal chiefs. The consolations of religion derived a new potency from their miseries on earth. Under a systematized stigma of subjection their instinct of indolence, inherited from tribal days, came to be penetrated with the lethargy of fatalism. Their character took on the virtues and failings that are the common product of oppression. The spirit of neighborly helpfulness, always a Celtic trait, developed progressively with their afflictions. But they acquired, too, a less pleasing but not less natural command of all the artifices which are the invariable defence of a weak and quick-witted race in its struggle against government by force. Dissimulation and deceit, a profound capacity for concealing their real opinions, an extreme facility in feigning agreement, became rooted in their minds as virtues. Self-reliance, a quality which the form of Celtic society, with its radical suppression of the individual, had never favored, was completely crushed by an accumulation of adversities. The habit of secret conspiracy and organization, of forming retaliatory leagues and brotherhoods of vengeance—a habit which has also its clear associations with the tribal past—grew as the possibility of legal remedies became more remote. Outlaws in fact, they became outlaws in spirit and in deed. Chained to ignorance, they nourished their warm and fanciful minds on the legends and superstitions of their fathers. Though sunk in an appalling poverty, which was aggravated by rapid reproduction, they preserved something of their happy racial carelessness and their old delight in games, the dance and minstrelsy; and strangely passive as they remained throughout the greater part of the century, two fierce agrarian wars and the multiplication of secret societies were omens of what was to come.

But the Catholic peasantry were not alone in their grievances. The Presbyterians in the north chafed bitterly under the ascendency of the Established Church, the exactions of the tithe-collector, and the religious tests that excluded them from office and from the army, disputed the validity of their marriages, and interfered with their worship and education. As manufacturers they were all but ruined by the commercial restrictions and the navigation laws. As farmers they not only had to meet the competition of the Celtic peasants, who habitually starved themselves to pay higher rents, but equally with their rivals they suffered from evictions, the extension of pasture, and the pressure of an

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unscrupulous landlordism. Discontent broke out in agrarian uprisings and outrages, and finally took the form of steady emigration to the American colonies, where the Presbyterian refugees from Ulster were to prove the backbone of the Revolution. And both Presbyterians and Episcopalians protested against the price which England forced them to pay for the protection and privileges they enjoyed. They had few or none of the rights of Englishmen. Their Parliament, overrun by placemen from England, was absolutely under the control of the English Privy Council. It met only once in two years, and in George II's reign it lasted for thirty-three years without renewal. "There was no Habeas Corpus. There were large sinecures, instruments of corruption in the hands of the Government. The pension list, swollen beyond bounds, was a privy fund for kings' mistresses and for jobs too dirty for the English list." All the high offices of state, judicial, administrative and ecclesiastical, were filled by Englishmen. Ireland, in short, was treated as the American colonies were treated, but with far greater strictness, propinquity making the task of supervision easier and more thorough; and it was the American colonies that wrought her partial deliverance. A patriot party rose in the Irish Parliament, proclaiming Irish wrongs. The American Revolution denuded the country of troops. Forty thousand volunteers were enrolled ostensibly for the protection of Ireland against a French invasion. But the Presbyterians, who formed the majority of the rank and file of the force, joined with the Episcopalians in using it as an instrument for the redress of Irish grievances. Harassed and all but prostrated, England had no option but to yield. The tests were abolished; the commercial restrictions were swept away; the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland was completely and formally acknowledged. There ensued for a little while one of the brightest periods in Irish history. The Parliament, though wholly Protestant, representing not more than a fourth of the population, and largely controlled by the British Government through its ownership of pensions, places and nomination boroughs, accomplished much for Ireland. It repealed the worst enactments of the Penal Code, which had, however, long before this fallen very largely into desuetude; it passed a Habeas Corpus Act; it fostered tillage, remodelled the Pension List, and gave a great impetus to industries and material development. But it did nothing for the

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peasantry, and while it extended the franchise to Catholic holders of forty-shilling freeholds, it failed to secure their admission to Parliament. Beneath the surface Ireland was as disunited, and the Irish Parliament as much a stronghold of Protestant ascendency, as ever. The Catholic upper and middle classes boldly pressed their claims for representation in Parliament. The Presbyterians, clamorous for the abolition of tithes and Parliamentary reform, were also deeply infected with the democratic spirit of the French Revolution. Communicated to the peasantry, the new ideas of liberty assumed the inevitable form of an agrarian revolt. The Presbyterians, who aimed at first at an Irish Republic to be established by French aid, were driven over by the uprising of the peasants to the side of Protestantism and repression; and the country was plunged once more into a murderous conflict of class and creed. In 1783 the Irish Protestants had turned the embarrassments of England to their own profit. In 1798 England repaid them in their own coin. The experiment of an independent Irish Parliament, partly, no doubt, because it was never fully tried, had led to a civil war of atrocious virulence. Legislative union was now resolved upon. The Catholic priesthood and gentry, buoyed up with the hope that it would be followed by their political emancipation, state provision for the clergy and a settlement of the tithe question, favored it. The Catholic masses remained passive. The Episcopalians accepted it as inevitable. The Presbyterians made no sign, and only the citizens of Dublin and the Orangemen in the north can be said to have strongly opposed it. The Irish House of Commons fought, indeed, for its life and its privileges with the tenacity both of patriots and of hucksters, but its resistance was overborne by a lavish creation of peerages and liberal compensation to the patrons of pocket-boroughs. Pitt "bought the fee-simple of Irish corruption," and the Union of Great Britain and Ireland became again a fact.

The eighteenth century established in Ireland the social, religious, territorial and political ascendency of an alien minority; the nineteenth century demolished it piece by piece and transferred its powers and privileges to the native masses. The Union, by drawing Ireland into the stream of English progress and Irishmen into the arena of English politics, doomed oligarchy to extinction. The country acquired a leverage on English opinion

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that she had never before possessed and that her representatives in the House of Commons were to prove supremely capable of utilizing. In the last hundred years nearly every emblem of the old régime has disappeared. After an agitation which for the first time brought the Irish priesthood into politics and instilled into the masses a real consciousness of unity, O'Connell wrested Catholic Emancipation from the British Government under a threat of civil war. Seven years of agrarian rebellion, marked by many outrages and comprising among its agencies of intimidation the terrible weapon of the boycott, forced an abolition of the tithes. A system of national primary education was established a generation before England herself received it. A Poor Law was passed to cope with the appalling growth of mendicancy and distress. Irish Catholics began to be appointed to high office under the British Crown. The municipalities were reformed and their administration passed for the most part into Catholic hands. The disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church did much to assuage sectarian bitterness. The franchise was greatly extended. Local government in town and country was handed over to popularly elected bodies and ceased to be the preserve and plaything of an exclusive class. By these measures the dominant Protestantism of the old order was stripped of much of its social and of nearly all its political and religious authority. But the true seat of power lay in the ownership of the land, and from that, too, the party of ascendency has by now been all but completely ejected. The Union at first seemed rather to aggravate than relieve the agrarian problem. When London became, and Dublin ceased to be, the capital of Ireland, large numbers of the gentry were attracted across the Channel, absenteeism increased, and the Irish landlord became more than ever a mere rent-extractor. But the true causes of the misery of rural Ireland had nothing to do with, and could neither be intensified nor removed by, an Act of Union. The peasants, always within arm's reach of famine, dependent for their subsistence upon a single precarious root, encouraged by their priests to contract early marriages, paying competitive rents and recklessly subdividing and subletting their land, multiplied with fearful rapidity. The fall in prices after the Napoleonic wars redoubled their wretchedness. The landlords who had created many small holdings in order to control the votes that went with them began consolidating their

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farms directly the forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised, and many thousands of tenants were evicted in the process. A vast number of agricultural laborers grew up without regular employment. Ireland became "a rabbit-warren of paupers and beggars." It only needed a failure of the potato crop to precipitate the inevitable calamity, and the potato crop failed not once, but in three successive seasons. Famine swooped upon the land, bringing pestilence in her train. A million people died in a few years from starvation and disease, and a million and a half more emigrated to the New World.

Henceforward a new impulse, fed from the fierce anger of the exiles in America, was to permeate Irish agitation and bring home to England that the Irish question was of more than domestic concern. A larger Ireland than Great Britain rules over grew up across the Atlantic to embitter and complicate Anglo-American relations, to offer a refuge to Irish misery, and to furnish the Irish struggle with sympathy, guidance and funds. In more ways than one the catastrophe of the famine proved the birth-throe of a new era. It killed for a while the demand for a repeal of the Union that O'Connell had carried to the last limit of peaceable agitation. It touched the conscience and humanity as much as it humiliated the pride of the English people. It was the means of concentrating upon Great Britain and the British connection much of the animosity that had hitherto been directed against the ascendency class in Ireland. It fomented every agrarian disorder to a degree that at last awakened British statesmanship to the chief source of Irish ills. The famine ruined a third of the Irish landlords. The sale of their bankrupt estates brought in a new type of speculative proprietors with no other interest than that of dragging from the land its last farthing of rent. At the same time the abolition of the corn laws destroyed the position that Ireland had held for seventy years as "England's granary," and threw the people back upon pasture. From these two causes alone tens of thousands of evictions took place, bloodily revenged by murders, spasmodic outrages and at length by the Irish-American conspiracy of Fenianism. It was not until democracy was installed in England that the Irish tenant found in the mingled fears and fair-mindedness of the English masses his best hope of justice. Forty years ago his status was still one of infamous subjection. None of the traditional amenities that mel-

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lowed the relationship of landlord and tenant in England obtained in Ireland. On the one side tyranny, born of racial and religious contempt, and nurtured on a long, untrammelled use of power; on the other side, the bitterness of dispossession, groaning under a mass of calculated injustice; and on both sides the memories of centuries of ferocious strife—prevented all true reciprocities of sympathy. Outside of Ulster the tenant, while carrying out at his own expense and by his own labor all the improvements on the land he leased, erecting the dwelling-house and out-offices, building the farm roads, draining and fencing the estate, could yet be evicted at any moment and without a penny of compensation. So great a scandal could not permanently endure when once its existence became realized by the English democracy. First by decreeing that compensation should be paid to an outgoing tenant, both for improvements and in the event of his eviction for any cause but the non-payment of a reasonable rent; secondly, by legalizing a dual ownership in the land—a landlord's interest and a tenant's interest—by appointing a judicial body to determine a fair rent, and by securing to the tenant fixity of tenure and the right of free sale of his interest; and thirdly, when it was clear that these expedients had broken down, by passing successive Acts that enabled the tenants through a free use of state credit to expropriate the landlords and become the absolute owners of the soil—the British Parliament in the last five-and-thirty years has struck Irish landlordism to the ground, and has changed the whole aspect of the agrarian problem. That history in the long run is justice was never better proved than in the tangled tale of Irish land tenure. Seven and a half centuries have reversed themselves in less than forty years, and the Celtic masses in another generation will be, as they were before the Anglo-Norman invasion, the occupiers and possessors of the Irish soil.

But this great evolution, now working itself out to its predestined end, was not wrought without a convulsion that for a while dislocated the whole framework of Irish society. Fearful outrages on man and beast, the terrorism of the Land League, repression on the one side and a many-linked confederacy of crime on the other, marked all but the final stage of its accomplishment, and penetrated the Irish mind with the conviction that England would yield to agitation what she would refuse to justice. Par-

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nell gave to the hostility against British rule a fresh and formidable intensity by grafting the demand for autonomy on to the movement for agrarian reform. By a skilful use of obstruction he reduced the British House of Commons to anarchy. He converted the leader of a great English party to the justice and expediency of Home Rule, but he failed to convert the British people. It will be for the twentieth century to discover how far the Home-Rule movement, deprived of its agrarian backbone, has any real vitality and to settle the extent to which the principle of associating the Irish people with the conduct of their own affairs is to be carried. For the rest, the nineteenth century witnessed profound changes in the conditions of the Irish question. It saw the downfall of ascendency and the steady equalization of the two races and the two creeds. It raised the Catholic Church to a height of secular authority unsurpassed in history and fraught with consequences, both present and to come, of the most far-reaching character. It vastly increased the well-being of the people, presided over a triumphant extension of manufactures in the north, and, by the introduction of railways and the employment of state aid, promoted a general advance in material comfort and civilization. It is now only along portions of the Atlantic seaboard, in the barren and backward west, that one encounters traces of the old penury and squalor. Moreover, since the Union, Ireland, while never pacified, has been comparatively pacific. Distracted by incessant unrest, she has still escaped the devastating wars of the three preceding centuries. At the same time, four millions of her people have left her shores, and the condition of the majority of those who have remained behind, while unmistakably better than it was a hundred years ago, is still lamentably deficient. The soil has passed rapidly out of cultivation and the peasantry, baptized in agitation and played upon by the excitements of an all-pervading politics, face the responsibilities of ownership with hardly more than a minimum of capital, technical skill, application or industrial habits. While almost wholly Anglicized in speech, dress and customs, the masses of the people retain their instinctive repugnance to English government and their inherited dislike of British criminal law; while the landowning nobility and gentry, both Catholic and Protestant, have as steadily lost their old Irish character and feeling and are now perhaps more than ever regarded as an alien class, battling

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with desperate tenacity for the last remnants of a supremacy once absolute and unchallenged. Taxation has enormously increased; government is wasteful and antipathetic to the mass of the people; education in all its grades is un-Irish, starved, misdirected and incomplete; the deep cleavages of class and creed are still painfully evident; a true sense of Irish nationality has yet to be born. Ireland remains as ever the land of paradoxes and problems. But a new spirit is stirring within her, and some new and potent forces are at work that hold within them the promise of a vast and beneficent transformation.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

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THE POET'S MIND.

BY MAX EASTMAN.

"You objects that call from diffusion my meanings and give them shape!"

"We realize the soul only by you, you faithful solids and fluids."

—*Walt Whitman.*

Upon most subjects the mystic and materialist are added together and a quotient is taken for wisdom. But upon the definition of poetry any mechanic, if he is wise in the love of it, will give you the mystic's answer. We search literature in vain for a clear formula; we find, for the most part, vague words and wonder. "Is not poetry to be referred to some previous state of sensation and existence?" "It is the breath and finer sense of all knowledge," "truth carried alive into the heart by passion." It is "word-painting," "the production of an illusion upon the imagination," a "fine frenzy." Saint Augustine called it "devil's wine." Lord Macaulay, who was sane even in error, declared poetry to be a form of insanity. Charles Lamb, who was better acquainted with both poetry and insanity, made a point of denying this. The poet gives us, he says, "by what subtle tracing of the mental process we are not philosopher enough to determine," a sound and rational vagary. Carlyle ventures beyond this paradox, and explains that "Poetry is musical thought." The condition of past literature upon the subject expresses the attitude of the average reflective mind. It appears that this mystery has escaped longer than any other the inroads of science.

It is ungrateful to try to explain a wonder. It is a task not to be undertaken unless for some good purpose. To my mind, a psychological analysis of the material of literary art furnishes the only sound basis for the study of it, and it is with this end in view that I approach the old question of the nature of poetry.

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Perhaps an improved understanding of it would also help those who desire to produce that mysterious effect.

The attempt to confine the "Essence of Poetry," which is quicksilver, within the limits of a definition has been made in two ways—first, by describing its subject-matter, as the true, the beautiful, the sublime, the fanciful, the good; and, second, by describing its mode of expression, as metrical or measured language. A thousand efforts of the first kind have failed. They were generally put forth by poets, and each succeeded in defining, not poetry, but *his* poetry. Coleridge is the wisest of them, for he surprises you at the end of his argument with this statement: "Poetry of the highest kind can exist without metre and without the contradistinguishing objects of a poem." That irrational sentence was meant to admit the Hebrew prophets, but it also left a place for Walt Whitman, whose still contested title gives my argument a special reason for being. Whitman shows that the subject-matter of poetry is limited only by the power and enthusiasm of the poet; he demands that we should reconsider our definitions. Onward experience is the bugbear of philosophy. Great men do not make definitions but burst them. The little men are always mending their nets.

The second way of defining poetry has had more apparent success. "Metrical speech," we are told; the poet is one who never says his opinions straight out, but distorts them to fit a beautiful but irrelevant pattern. The Rhetoric and many people like it are satisfied with this. "Music, when combined with a pleasurable idea, is poetry"—this is Edgar Allan Poe; "music without the idea is simply music, the idea without the music is prose." We like such lucidity, and we like the terse and irreverent American who said it. But we think he was hardly big enough to evolve a philosophy of poetry; that he scarce knew his own genius, nor could fathom the hearts of which he has doubtless for moments become the mouthpiece. Mysticism, agnosticism, reverence, humility—whatever it is in us that is so precious—makes us recoil from his words. We love poetry because in it we find ourselves and the universe. We do not make the same treasure of mere verse and a pleasurable idea.

However, lest we fall out with the dictionary, it must be stated that the word "poetry" means metrical speech. In this meaning it is applied to those portions of our magazines in which

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the printing does not run out to the margin. But poetry has another meaning, a more subtle one—a magic that can hardly be imputed to the arrangement of its syllables. Especially we use the words "poet" and "poetic," in a great and free sense, to describe types and attitudes of mind as well as uses of language. "My singing, be sure, is very husky, and is for the most part in prose," Emerson says. "Still, I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter, and especially of the correspondences between these and those." And Tolstoy describes a man as "endowed with the faculty of vividly realizing his subject, which is the essence of the poetic gift." We have but the one word with two meanings, and it is the second meaning that is important.

Much poetry lives that is not musical, but all merely musical verses perish. We find in the midst of drear volumes a sudden life and intimateness, which makes us exclaim, "That was a *poetic* sentence!" And we have in our too meagre and prosaic intercourse electric moments where music is out of the question, and which we likewise call poetic. This charm which can swing down into the most wretched lives and circumstances is what makes poetry sacred. It is by this that the poets live, and are translated, and become universal. It is a secondary thing that they love tuneful language. Rhythm is only the child of poetry. Here are some lines which, robbed of their musical excellence, retain all the wonder:

> "Then I shall become the bride of grief."
> "The invisible skylark with its song is like an unbodied joy."

And the metre of this poem was born in the heart of the translator:

> "Though your sins be as scarlet,
> They shall be as white as snow;
> Though they be red like crimson,
> They shall be as wool."

That which gives wings to prose and soul to verse I call, rather than music, the poetic principle. It is related of the cowherd, Cædmon, who became the father of English poetry, that:

"when well advanced in years he had learned nothing of the art of verse, the alliterative jingle so popular among his fellows. Wherefore, being sometimes at feasts, when all agreed for glee's sake to sing in

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turn, he no sooner saw the harp come towards him than he rose from the board and turned homeward.

"Once when he had done this, and gone from the feast to the stable where he had that night charge of the cattle, there appeared to him in his sleep one who said, greeting him by name, 'Sing, Cædmon, some song to me.' 'I cannot sing,' he answered; 'for this cause left I the feast and came hither.' He who talked with him answered, 'However that may be, you shall sing to me.' 'What shall I sing?' returned Cædmon. 'The beginning of created things,' replied he.

"In the morning, the cowherd stood before Hild and told his dream. Abbess and brethren alike concluded that that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by the Lord!"

With that story we can conclude our retrospect, for it suggests the new theme. The poet is not one who can make an alliterative jingle, but one who can go out into the barn and have a vision.

A deep-reaching division that we can make of human minds is this: those which contain vivid images and those which contain almost no images. There are persons who love concrete experience, nature, reverie, art for its own sake, and the present idea regardless of where it leads; and there are persons who love abstract thinking, affairs, statistics, art for its meaning, and the present idea only for its practical issue. The first are poetic, and the second are prosaic. The essence of poetry, in this human meaning, is imagined sense-experience. All language parts away on one side and the other before this principle. In prose you labor to apprehend a meaning; in poetry you enjoy a sensation which, perhaps, tells you a meaning. This universal difference is rooted in the origin of tongues, and branches in the highest apprehensions of metaphysics. Poetry is effective figure; practical language is non-figurative or disfigurative.

In order to grasp the distinction between these kinds of speech, you must discover in your own mind the difference between the logical meaning and the imaginative cargo of thought. In every process there is that skeleton logic, invisible, intangible, that your reason apprehends; but with every process there is also the figure, the garment, seen, heard, touched, apprehended (however vaguely) by the imagination. There is not a more purely logical process than counting from one to a hundred; yet who is without a picture of those numbers in space relations,—a winding and bending over a page, over a prairie, a slow ascent, an odd march of marionettes, or the simple succession of them at

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his eye or ear? Never a man was put to sleep yet by the bare logical apprehension of successive numbers. You can remember, if you will, a hundred imaginative customs of your thought, which you compared with those of your sister and brother in childhood,—each depending probably upon the circumstances in which you first learned a meaning. Over every day and moment of mean occupation, and reason pottering in trivialities, there abides half-realized this float of emerging and receding visions—vistas straight into fairyland. The poet masters, clarifies, and gives to us in language the sensuous content of his thought, and *through* that we come at his meaning. It is the same in argument, exposition, narration, and description. For in the latter two he voices such details as will convey, not the knowledge of *an event or object, but the sense-perception of it.* "*In the forest,*" says prose; "Where the deer's swift leap startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell," says poetry. "Last April," says prose; "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed," says poetry.

In this we have the corroboration of Oriental art. For in the Japanese Hokku, or poem of a single line, "significant imagery" is the aim and substance, there being no room for jingling accoutrements. Upon analysis, it appears that in each case the title of these poems is a practical statement, which the verse repeats in poetry. I quote an example from an English critic: "The subject had been a 'Spring Breeze,' and to understand the significance of the verse we must remember that in Japan carpenters plane their wood in the open air, and that the curling wood-shaving is the exact shape of the Japanese letter 'no.' Here is the poem:

> "'As I walked past the carpenter's, the no-letters chased me down the lane.'"

Figurative language is the primary mode of expression, prose the secondary. By "primary," I mean not only primitive but immediate and vital, conveying the actual content of one's thought to another. Let us grasp this again introspectively. A word that comes to my mind is "junction." Few minds will be content to present to themselves simply the appearance or the sound of that word for a substantive, and wait for its application in a particular instance. We are quick to form a vague picture of two things coming together, two undefined objects which shall represent the abstract conception. And if our mind is feverish

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or electric with passion, the picture is more defined, there even appears a particular instance (perhaps the first in connection with which the word was understood), which stands for "junction" in the abstract, until a new concrete is given by the completion of the sentence. "Let there be a junction between your ideals and your daily life." But even here we are somewhat at a loss to attain an image. Something above reaches down upon something below, something light touches upon something drab-colored, or a vagueness from heaven swims over the picture of yourself in practical costume—the difference depending upon the circumstances under which you have learned and used the word "ideal," the word "junction," and the words "daily life." But, whatever form it takes, it is inevitably vague and un-emerging,—unsatisfying, because it leaves you all of the pictorial work to do. In short, it is prosaic. "Hitch your wagon to a star." That is poetic. That gleams into your mind, scorning all of the three words which were more or less incompatible with each other, and putting in their place one visual experience, which abides. It is genius perfecting the natural method of the mind. There is a poetic quality in all thought, but it is a muddled and dark and incongruous poetry that we create in our own minds as we read prose.

This difference between the logic of abstract words and their actual content in reverie is brought out whenever we are called upon to explain their meaning. Suppose we are questioned by a child. We flounder in definitions a while, and then we fall back upon some *picturesque* illustration or analogy, and we are understood. Children are poetic, as language is in its childhood. They are in the position of the metaphysicians, groping ever farther than the experience covered by their present vocabularies. Both can be good poets. Poetry is thought clothed in its own form; prose is thought clothed in the forms of words.

Creative thought advances by symbolism and analogy. Any scholar can convey to you in paragraphs a considerable observation upon the nature of the universe or of man; but a poet gives you one impassioned line, and not the line but the thought is there. This is the difference through all time between the literature of learning and the literature of genius. For creation is accompanied by a passion which will rarely relinquish the living form of its thought to a wordy garment. It will master words.

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But, if poetry clothes thought in its natural form, why do we speak prose? How does thought come to be otherwise clothed? It is custom and the complexities of practical life that destroy poetry. Poetry is not altogether sociable, for it emphasizes the part of a man's thought which is peculiar to him. The image is individual, the meaning is common. So in the process of drawing together, and of hurrying to our ends, we forget the value of the unique moment. There is no time in a loquacious sentence to mind the consistency of one's figures, and words destroy each other. But look into the history of the birth of one word, and you will see visions. In the dictionary is the heart of the supreme poem, the first epic, the upbuilding of human thought. There, in the wide symbolism of language, it is seen under what forms we have beheld our outward universe, and by what subtle work of analogy we have blended that with the widening panorama of the spirit.

Language is poetry, and prose is withered language. Every poet who tries to write is made aware that language is always dying and being born again.* This makes the trouble about mixed figures. If a phrase has become so common as to have lost its pictorial quality, it may become the ingredient of a new and more comprehensive figure; but if it still conveys a picture of its own, then the union will be incongruous. Yet if we bear in mind those forgotten origins, all language is a mixture of figures. So long as we spoke simply, we spoke poetically; but when we became complex we had to mind our logic, and that primitive poetry died. But here and there grows a man whose thought is an elixir to language. By no means will he let his visions fall misfit into the patterns of old expression. Com-

* "Insult" means to "jump upon," but it has lost for us its picture-quality, it is merely a label which we apply to certain complex forms of conduct. But the true word, the poet's word, is revived in the growth of new language. In slang we denote all these complex forms of conduct by a single sense-experience, we say we "get jumped on."

An example of the death of poetic language through custom is found in our treatment of the Bible. Its phrases are reiterated until all the imagery is lost out of them. A symbol, like "The Lamb of God," becomes a title merely.

"Crown him with many crowns,
The Lamb upon his throne"—

we sing, in sleepy oblivion of the ridiculous picture. Thus the living forms of language become conventionalized, but without acquiring a new geometric grace like the lotus and the *fleur-de-lis*. There are a great many dead hymns.

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bining these faded figures, he fashions a new language which bodies the thing in a form to be, not apprehended, but beheld; and we, beholding, think that we have found out our own thoughts at last, and we become his disciples.

It will be seen that the difference between poetic and practical language is a difference of degree rather than of kind. Much rhetoric is upon the border-line, and aims to combine the lucid coherence of prose with an occasional delay and excursion of poetry. It will also be seen that poetry is a universal possession and no parlor-art, though we call only him a "poet" whose eye is restive under the least restraint, and who will say nothing if he cannot show you the vivid paintings of his mind. Isaiah and Whitman are of the same mental temper, where they kindle us, as Milton and Shelley. Whether they hold ill or well to the steel rails of logic, in this they are alike, that their first loyalty is not to the roadbed, but to the harmonies of earth and heaven through which it leads. For that outward glance they are joined together as the seers of history, the poets, the makers of vision.

Milton said that poetry must be simple, sensuous and impassioned. "Sensuous" I take to be the defining attribute, and how simple or how impassioned is a matter for artistic judgment. That sensuousness is *ideal,* it is the work of restless imagination. But now there is a *real* element of sense in all language —the sound or appearance of the words. This real sensation often supplants the ideal part of your thinking. And if this real sensation can be made enjoyable, and if you have a feeble imagination, perhaps you will like it better than true poetry.

The word "Beauty" itself, for instance, has a certain wealth both of sound and figure, and verse-makers will tell you how to combine it with other words so as to increase that effect. Then you will let the written or spoken word replace the vision, as Plato did when he forswore personification and declared the contemplation of abstract qualities to be the true form of worship. Out of this has arisen the shallow art of writing prose in verse, and combining the words into a kind of watery languor that soothes the ear and perhaps purchases the attention. But the art of musical language should be an accessory of the greater art. We need music to usher in the successive visions of a poet, to give us the warmth of being smiled upon, even though what the poet has to say is difficult or bitter. All eloquence attests

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the value of an urgent rhythm in poetry and in practical language. But why song is the special companion of poetry and of man, is a question that belongs to the theory of music. It belongs with the will, whereas poetry belongs with the idea. Poetry is the perfecting of the individual nature of an idea.

We consider such symbolic or visionary thinking to be very rare, and that a special star attends the birth of a poet. But no doubt these metaphors and mystic fancies play in the firmament of every mind. They are of the nature of mind. In childhood we heeded them, but in age our eyes are downward. Education reduces us to prose. We are told that we must get understanding, we must not linger and behold.

Yet the most logical thinker will sometimes discover the value of these early lightenings, and let them clarify his groundwork. Catching some fleeting metaphor or personification, he holds it before him, and reasonably enlarges it into a simile, a parable, an allegory; and these interpreted are poetry. Mythical story is a poem of this kind; it is the poem of the race. Mythology floats above the affairs of Greece, as fancy above the cares of your life, and illumines them. Out of myth, and so out of poetry, arises the religion of ideals. This mortal discontent with abstraction, this yearning back to the sensuous and concrete, has its highest fruition in the personification of our hopeful ideas. Religious faith is the culminating poem.

The same daring spirit that tells "unbodied joy" in the form of an invisible skylark singing, has told love in the unapproachable form of Venus, wisdom in the courageous figure of Minerva. It was not abstract ideas of health and beauty and lightness, but visible Apollo, who moulded Greek life. And when Apollo was gone, then Plato came and declared that the ideas were still there. Health and beauty and lightness—these abstract things exist in perfection and can be seen, not with the sensual eye, but with the eye of the mind. So his evening prayer was a prayer, not to the Deity, not to the beautiful and good, but to Beauty and Goodness. He substituted the image of a word with its meaning for the image of a god with his meaning. And so, if he had known it, he justified all their poetry and their religion. Not the definition but the existence of poetry is a mystery. Poetry marries the seen with the unseen world, but we have not guessed the nature of this union.

MAX EASTMAN.

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PREFERENTIAL TARIFF WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY SIR ALFRED MOLONEY, LATE GOVERNOR OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

THE cosmopolitan idea of Cobden, free trade, which first took root in the British Isles in 1846, was to effect, with a rush as he anticipated, by the influence of England's example, free intercourse between nations—in other words, a universal reciprocity. He succeeded, no doubt, after a septennial struggle in effecting the repeal of the Corn Laws. Yet, notwithstanding his personally conducted campaign on the Continent, not only did his dream of the universal adoption of his doctrine leave him to the end a visionary, but, as a practical result, walls of hostile tariffs have been built up against England with most prejudicial effect on the industries and employment of her people. Although he succeeded in 1860 in negotiating a ten years' commercial treaty with France on the lines of his fetish, it was only to see the complete denouncement of that treaty later on, and the return of France to protective tariffs, which have since been rigorously maintained, and are now of universal adoption everywhere except in the United Kingdom.

There lived no more hearty and sincere adherent of free trade, in its best and truest form, than that able and patriotic statesman, the late Marquis of Salisbury, but he strongly deprecated its being parodied by doctrinaires and converted into an object of fetish-worship. Whilst fully alive to the many obstacles that must present themselves, and will have to be overcome, in the transition stage, he doubtless favored England's preferential treatment of her Colonies by adjusting her duties in their favor. "This is to say, drawing our Colonies nearer to ourselves by abolishing, so far as may be, the Custom Houses that separate

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the two." He demurred to the Mother Country's being forbidden the idea of differential duties in favor of the Colonies, as though it were an economical heresy. With free trade, Great Britain is simply playing the game of her fiscal enemies, who, whilst they one and all have rejected that policy, rejoice at seeing the British still so much under its influence. Well they may; for it secures to them the exclusive control of their markets for the benefit of their own people, while at the same time they have the British markets as dumping-grounds for their own overproduction, the result of which is seen in the contraction of British home industries, and the consequent addition to the roll of Great Britain's unemployed. "Under cover of this kind of fetish-worship of the set of doctrines which are called 'free trade,' you are excluded from legitimate acts of self-defence, and, so long as you are so excluded, you may sigh in vain for justice in fiscal matters at the hands of the other nations of the globe."

These opinions were expressed twenty years ago; but how much more forcibly do they apply at the present day, and how truly reflected were they in the views expressed in England during and since the Conference of the Premiers of the great self-governing States of the Empire. Lord Salisbury did not think it inconsistent with his principles, but viewed it on the contrary as within the national rights, that England should so manage her fiscal policy and regulate the duties in her own tariff as to enable her to pierce those Continental barriers with gates by means of which only shall she effect an entrée to the markets of other nations.

Such treatment would seem to harmonize with the conventions for reciprocal tariff concessions negotiated in the past between the United States and neighboring British Possessions, under the full cognizance and approval of the Home Government of the day, with a view to the improvement of the conditions of trade intercourse, and to the mutual advantage of both contracting parties.

Has the turn of the tide already begun? And is Great Britain about to witness the realization of the warning of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, that greatest and most patriotic advocate of closer commercial relations within the Empire, when he said, referring to the self-governing Colonies:

"We must either draw closer together or drift apart. Are we going

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to lose the Colonial trade? This is the parting of the ways. You have to remember that if you do not take this opportunity now it will not recur."

"Now or never" is the pressing consideration for the people of the United Kingdom, for with them alone rests the decision whether they are to have a closer association or a fatal estrangement. The young States of the Empire are naturally ambitious of, and anxious about, their future; and they are fully alive to their own interest, as well as to that of the Mother Country. Preference for them is part of their constructive policy, and they mean to effect their purpose in whatever quarter they can do so; and, in the first instance, they offer Great Britain the refusal. The decision on this momentous question rests with the people themselves, and not with Governments which come and go, and are but temporary trustees of the interests of the enfranchised. The parting of the ways would be at once a national misfortune and a suicidal mistake, and would eventually spell disintegration of the grand area over which British sway extends. Nothing will more inevitably bring about British national degeneration, isolation, insignificance, and social unrest, than that England should turn a deaf ear to the offers of preference from her great self-governing Colonies, and allow them to take up with foreign nations, as in that case they assuredly will do.

The all-important and burning question of Fiscal Reform, and its preferential effect on the component parts of the Empire, as represented by the self-governing and practically independent States of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, will be the foremost plank at the next General Election, if it is not too late then for consideration. The results of recent by-elections, particularly in industrial areas where it has been made the main issue, have clearly indicated the trend of popular feeling and determination; and the electorates have spoken with no uncertain voice. In view of the Empire's many and various climates, its widespread though dormant assets, its enormous productivity, its capability and readiness for development to the extent of being self-containing, self-supporting, and able to meet its own commercial and industrial requirements, tariff reformation is bound to come, when the industrial classes have fully realized, as they are daily more and more doing, their true and permanent interests.

The movement in this direction is still young, and it is not

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always easy to convince the workingman that Fiscal Reform is not for the exclusive benefit of the Colonies, but that it will, moreover, insure the prosperity of the lower and middle classes at home, by increasing the volume of trade, and establishing security of employment. Until comparatively recently, there has been no organization and little propaganda in favor of tariff reform; and until the late by-elections there has been no effort to educate the British masses on the subject which concerns not only their vital interests, but their actual right to existence. The Free Trade doctrine, once firmly established, has operated like the fumes of some powerful narcotic; and England has drowsily slumbered, while other countries have taken the opportunity to enrich themselves at her expense.

She may wake up too late to the fact that one day she will have to pay the price for the gift of cheapness with which she has been soothed and beguiled, in order that the robbery might more effectively take place. Her Fiscal enemies only require sufficient time to complete the strangulation of English and Scottish industries, and to starve out her workmen; and then the screw will be put on, and they will have to pay any price that may be asked for the actual necessaries of life. The net is gradually closing round England; and in case of war, with a coalition against her, she would be reduced to the verge of starvation as at the time of the Napoleonic wars, when the loaf stood at one shilling and eightpence, and with even more disastrous consequences than then.

No one can maintain that the United States and the German Empire are not flourishing communities, or that their financial system impedes the growth of industry. Yet the conditions of life in England do not differ so widely from theirs as to support the suggestion that what has tended to promote national prosperity in those countries would have a contrary effect in the British Isles.

In the United States the standard of the industrial classes is much higher than in Great Britain whether it be in wages, clothing, education or housing accommodation. All this is the fruit of protection, and it accounts for the attractions of emigration, the stream of which impoverishes England while it enriches America. In poor old England, competition between cheap foreign goods and domestic products and manufactures depreci-

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ates the value of labor, and keeps on the border of starvation over twelve millions of the population.

The value of the general trade (merchandise) of the United Kingdom in 1906 aggregated £1,068,565,000—made up of £607,888,000 imports and £460,677,000 exports. Of this the trade from and to foreign countries was, respectively, £465,723,000 imports and £330,030,000 exports; that from and to British Possessions being £142,165,000 imports and £130,647,000 exports. In the same year, exports of British and Irish produce only (merchandise) from the United Kingdom amounted to £254,234,000 to foreign countries, and £121,341,000 to British Possessions, total £375,575,000 to all destinations. These figures are exclusive of exports of foreign and colonial merchandise (re-exports) which amounted in 1906 to £85,102,000.*

The last conference resulted in bringing us all—mother and children—into line, as component and autonomous units of one common Empire, of equal status and eventual responsibility. The aim and policy of the future are a fresh shuffle of the cards, in other words, a rearrangement of the assets belonging to the whole, with a view to promoting our domestic interests, diminishing foreign dependency, and facilitating and expanding traffic between the Imperial units. The value of the assets and the importance of the proposed deal are shown by the above figures.

The Act entitled "A Bill for the protection of American Industries," better known as the McKinley Act, was passed by the Republican party in 1890. The late Mr. McKinley was a stanch and consistent protectionist, and his Bill was appropriately described as the high-water mark of protection; it enacted increased duties on tin plates, certain raw products, wood, woollen and cotton manufactures, and granted a bounty to domestic-sugar producers. The most important feature, perhaps, was its reciprocity, in providing for the remission of duties on sugar, molasses, tea, coffee and hides from foreign countries which granted similar treatment to American products.

Under the Cleveland administration, it was repealed in 1894, and replaced by the Wilson Bill, "a tariff for revenue only," which was a step in the direction of "free trade" as the Democrats believed. It fell far short of the expectations of its promoters as a revenue-producer.

* See "Annual Statement of Trade" for 1906.

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In 1897 the Republicans regained control of the Government, and, with the approval of President McKinley, the Dingley Bill, a strong protectionist measure, which has taxed British goods prohibitively, was substituted for the Wilson Bill.

In defence of the measure, Mr. McKinley very soundly and astutely observed that "the people of no nation have ever permanently prospered under a policy which sacrificed its home industries to build up and develop the resources and give employment to the labor of foreign States."

What has been the result of his policy as regards the protection and encouragement of home production? In the decade ended with 1900, an increase of 21½, 28½ and 34 per cent. in the employment of hands engaged in manufacturing, textile, iron and steel industries, respectively.

The late Lord Playfair, who was Chairman of Ways and Means, and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons from 1880 to 1883, expressed in 1891 the following opinion of American fiscal policy: "If the Americans be right in principle, and if they be successful in practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on a gigantic error, and must lead to our ruin as a commercial nation." No truer words were ever spoken. In his Presidential Message in December last to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt recognizes protection as an established institution, and that "any effort to uproot it would cause widespread industrial disaster." Why? It keeps the industries of the country going and profitable concerns, and secures enhanced wages and work for the "industrialists."

The Labor Party in England have determined upon a campaign in favor of a wholesale scheme of old-age pensions, without distinction of beneficiaries, or contribution on their part. For an object lesson we may look to the compulsory system of Workmen's Insurance established by the late Prince Bismarck in Germany, which it owes to its protective system, and which was given as a bribe to the opposing "industrialists," to secure their acceptance of so great a social revolution as compulsory insurance involved. The cost devolves not on the State, but on employers and employed, who are compensated with the higher prices and better wages resulting from protection.

Dependent as the British have thus been allowed to become on foreign sources, there is yet another sword of Damocles hung

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over the heads of their credulous countrymen by the fetish-worshippers—the bread supply, and where it is to come from in case of international hostilities. Now, this very problem is an additional and a pressing factor in favor of Fiscal Reform in Great Britain, as, in consequence of the increasing growth of population, the home supply of wheat falls more and more short of the demand and foreign dependency correspondingly increases.

In the order of their yield, the chief sources of England's supply are the British Possessions, the United States, Russia, Argentina, Roumania and some other smaller countries.

Of wheat-producing countries, Canada, which contains some 125,000,000 acres suitable for tillage, should eventually be the great grain reserve of the United Kingdom, if only her capacities are encouraged and developed. Her neighbor, the United States, which sent us only 18,840,000 cwt. in 1904, as compared with 26,000,000 in 1875, will require before long all their own breadstuffs for domestic consumption; there the population is rapidly overtaking their resources both in grain and in timber, and those states will eventually have to rely for the latter on Canada, British Central America, West Africa and India, where the wood industry is practically dormant and the possibilities enormous.

The quantity of wheat annually required for home consumption by the United Kingdom approximates 200,000,000 bushels, of which one-fifth is now available at home. The remainder can easily be obtained from the Dominion by the cultivation there of some 15,000,000 additional acres, and when this is effected we shall see the United Kingdom independent of foreign contributions.

Free trade is practically confined to the British Islands, with their 121,000 square miles and population of 43,660,000; while the rest of the British Empire contains some 11,400,000 square miles, with 410,000,000 people. Here we have the possibilities of an enormous extension of real Free Trade embracing the largest and richest areas, which when their latent resources are adequately developed will be capable of being self-contained, and of rivalling in every sense the magnificent and enviable position now occupied by the United States. So far, the tail has wagged the dog, but the beast is at last realizing the mistake, and now manifests the inclination of reversing that procedure.

In Canada, protective measures are an integral part of her

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fiscal system. In the case of imports into Canada of articles which are there also produced, an anti-dumping duty up to a maximum *ad valorem* of 15 per cent. is levied, equal to the difference between the selling price to the importer and the market value for home consumption. And, to safeguard the Australian market against foreign capture by under-cost importation, not only are anti-dumping charges included in the new tariff, allowing reduction in the rate of duty charged, but the manufacturers and industrial classes are further protected, both as to prices and wages, against the consequences of the employment of cheap alien labor—the sweating system—by the imposition of an excise duty on Australian manufactures, which is remitted when the goods have been the output of "fair and reasonable conditions of labor." This novel experiment will be watched with interest and doubtless followed in other parts of Greater Britain.

What does the new Australian Tariff aim at securing? Firstly, the interruption of the shrinkage of the Commonwealth revenue; secondly, encouragement of domestic industries and the appropriation to them of an appreciable share of the benefits anticipated; thirdly, the arrest of shrinkage of trade from the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire, represented annually within the last three years by eight per cent. and ten per cent. respectively, in contrast to foreign imports which rose ten per cent.—notably from the United States and Germany. It is further claimed for the past decade that the preferential treatment of the Mother Country relieved the Canadian consumers of $28,000,000 of taxation, which they would have had to bear had the former rates of duty been maintained. How different in the old country!

The new Australian tariff undoubtedly gives in several cases a preferential rate to goods manufactured in the United Kingdom. It is even more protectionist than the one it has replaced, and pessimistic grumblers in England of course declare that the preference is illusory, as the higher sale prices necessitated will be beyond the means of former customers, who will be obliged to confine their purchases to articles of purely Australian origin. These people anticipate that the effect of the new tariff will be to reduce the exports from the Mother Country, as in many instances the customs charges will prove so prohibitive that merchants will not be able to continue to ship certain goods with

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any prospect of making a profit. Pessimists and Cobdenites seem hard to please!

Where the imports from foreign countries are large and consequently established, a preference to the United Kingdom, as an initial basis for consideration, has been given, averaging thirteen per cent., which represents a concession to British goods of some £1,500,000 a year, that being the approximate difference between the general tariff and the preferential one.

Whatever the duties, it will be impossible for the Australian people for many years to come to "confine their purchases to articles of purely Australian origin." It will be years before native Australian industries can supply anything more than a small part of the goods wanted in the Australian market; and, whatever the duties may be, the Australian people will be obliged to continue buying many things from other countries. Here is the point where preference comes in. Are they to buy what they want and must have from foreign countries, or from the Mother Country? The preferential advantage given to the Mother Country by Australia in such circumstances must, and will, make it easier to sell British goods in the Australian market than to sell foreign. Moreover, the argument that the preference is illusory ignores the great advantage given to British merchants by the United Kingdom free list, under which goods to the value of something like £3,000,000 are admitted into Australia absolutely free of duty, while the same goods are made dutiable by Australia when they come from foreign countries.

Great Britain has, practically, an annual gift of something approaching £5,000,000 of money. What has been the acknowledgment for this. Most brusquely and unwisely the Sister States were told that the United Kingdom had nothing to offer them in return. For the time preferential treatment received the cold douche at a very low temperature, but it is an essential part of Turkish-bath treatment to prevent chill and to promote later a healthy reaction.

The free-trade fetish which is ruining British manufactures, and yearly throwing out of employment thousands of workingmen, is largely responsible for the tremendous strides that Socialism has been making of late in the British Isles. Mr. Arnold Foster, in an able and sympathetic article in the "Standard" of October 7th, writes:

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"Socialists are not produced by the arguments of doctrinaire teachers, they are produced by the inexorable pressure of life as many have to live it. The dangerous policy of pure competition, without regard to the fate or fortune of the individual who is sacrificed in the race, has done much harm. The great congestion in the towns, the destruction of country life, the degradation of national physique, all of which we owe principally to the extremists of the Manchester School, have put the drag on the wheel of progress."

The destruction of country life consequent on the ruin of agriculture is largely responsible for the increase of emigration, which enriches the United States with hundreds and thousands of able-bodied and skilled workers, who yearly leave the shores of Great Britain.

Meanwhile, in the country, thousands of acres of corn-growing and other crop-yielding lands are derelict, and articles of consumption, such as bacon, meat, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs and potatoes, which used to be produced at home, are obtained from abroad.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, in 1882, proved by the testimony of the majority of witnesses that foreign competition was the chief cause of the embarrassments of the agricultural community. "It is but just to recall," says the report, "that the pressure of the competition is now found to be greatly in excess of the anticipations of the supporters, and of the apprehensions of the opponents, of the repeal of the Corn Laws."

Again in 1897 a similar Commission reported that "so far as the maintenance of this competition involves the continued depreciation of agricultural values, we must look forward to a further reduction of the area of British land susceptible of profitable arable cultivation, together with a corresponding contraction of our productions and a diminution of our rural population." Of what use, then, is the endeavor of the present Government to effect the establishment of small holdings, and so bring back the people to the land, if the markets are so cheapened and contracted that it becomes an impossibility for any one to make a living out of farming on a small scale?

It is curious how little the fanatical opponents of tariff reform seem to realize that, even if all they predict of the consequences of imposing a moderate duty upon certain articles coming from abroad were true, there would still remain, all the time, an evil of much more serious character, and which is doing far more to pauperize the lower and lower middle classes than any protective

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tariff could possibly do. The pressure of rates in England is a real and crying injustice at the present time, and one which tends more surely to take the bread out of the mouths of the poor than any system of protection could ever effect. Yet little attention is paid to this state of things by those whose range of political economy seems bounded by the hollow and misguiding fetish of the big loaf, or cheap food for the people. The big loaf and the cheap food are admirable things *per se*, but a greater and more desirable thing is the possession of money to acquire them with.

The rates, however, intercept a large amount of the wages or salary which would enable the recipient to purchase the big loaf and cheap food, and are sucking the very life-blood out of the industrial classes. The following case, unfortunately a typical one, was reported in the "Daily Express" of October 12th, under the heading, "The Crime of Poverty":

"Mr. Frederick Gather-Cole, age sixty-eight, a Euston Road photographer, was committed to Brixton Prison for non-payment of rates. He died there on Tuesday last from an apoplectic seizure. At the inquest yesterday a son stated that his father had been a rate-payer for forty years, but his business became stagnant and recently he had no means. A policeman testified that after he had arrested Mr. Gather-Cole, the latter went to three different places to try and obtain the money, but failed. 'Do you have many of these cases?' asked the coroner. 'Yes,' was the reply. 'I have had more this half-year than ever before.' A verdict of 'death from natural causes' was returned."

The case needs no comment.

It can be easily demonstrated that, by the imposition of even a moderate tax on products from foreign countries, sufficient money would be raised to enable the Government to lessen the burden of direct taxation. The heavy pressure of the rates has been the means of closing many factories, the latest example of which is the experience of an old-established boot-manufacturer in the South of London, who was recently obliged in consequence to shut up his premises, and throw some eleven hundred people out of employment! This in its way is a typical example of the evil of the present fiscal system; for, the buildings being assessed at £4,000, the rates and other charges came to over ten shillings in the pound, involving the payment of a sum considerably over £2,000 *per annum*. The Northampton boot and other domestic industries are literally struggling for existence against the crushing competition of the American, French and Austrian manufac-

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turing invaders, who flood the British markets with cheap and often worthless goods. Without scheduling here the many examples of the industrial decadence of British industries, brief reference may also be made to the depression in the furniture trade which has forced hundreds to the margin of starvation. This is explained by the fact that, whilst the annual import of furniture is valued at £1,200,000, the export has been only worth £200,000, meaning that the British are parties to subsidizing foreign industries and workmen to the tune of a million sterling which should be kept in the country and appropriated to the employment and maintenance of their own. The imposition of a duty so trifling as to be imperceptible to the buyer would save not only those industries, but many others as well, which are in the same plight; but the present Government, like Gallio, cares for none of these things. What does anything matter if the big loaf is to be got cheap?

Beyond and above all other questions in Great Britain, that of preferential trade within the Empire is looming, not in the distance, but in the near future. To Canada as the pioneer of the policy must be given the credit of the popular movement. The people of the Dominion made it the cardinal feature of their tariff in 1897, which gave to imports from the United Kingdom a preference of thirty-three and one-third per cent., with the result of arresting the decline of British trade, and doubling in six years our sales to Canada. From South Africa the Mother Country has had a preference of twenty-five per cent., from New Zealand ten per cent., and now from the Commonwealth thirteen per cent.

The policy of Canada was publicly announced in April last, at the Albert Hall, by that grand old man of the Empire, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in these words:

> "If it so pleased the British people to meet them on that policy, and to grant them Preference for Preference, they were ready to meet the British people with concession for concession; that offer stood to-day as it stood ten years ago. It was for the British people to say whether they would accept it or not."

That offer was echoed unanimously, and in the most cordial terms, by the Representatives of every one of the Sister Nations. What an effective reply to those who have had the audacity to declare that no offer of preference had ever come from the

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Colonies! We feel inclined to wonder whether these people have ever read the official memorandum of the Canadian Ministers at the Colonial Conference of 1902, in which also appeared a warning that should be seriously considered by the people of England:

"If, after using every effort to bring about such a readjustment of the fiscal policy of the Empire, the Canadian Government should find that the principle of preferential trade was not acceptable to the Colonies generally or the Mother Country, then Canada should be free to take such action as might be deemed necessary in the presence of such conditions."

So far as the British Government is concerned, the warning has fallen on deaf ears, and the new Canadian tariff now contains an intermediate tariff for purposes of negotiation with foreign countries, to enable their goods to be admitted to preferential treatment. The firstfruits have been the Franco-Canadian Commercial Treaty, which has naturally caused no small uneasiness to the Mother Country. Fear of Imperial Preference excites keen and jealous apprehension in Germany, where it is already recognized that it will be in the interests of the Fatherland to come to a direct understanding with the Commonwealth, in order to facilitate the importation into that Empire, not only of raw material for manufacturing industry, but foodstuffs as well.

A resolution to this effect was recently passed by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce; and the "*Frankfürter Zeitung*," one of the leading journals of the Empire, has strongly urged the Government to protest against the granting of preferential tariffs in favor of British productions, and so avert the danger threatening German trade. The Germans are now realizing the consequences of their retaliatory war against Canada, waged to counteract the British preference from the Dominion, and the countersurtax placed by Canada on German goods.

There need be no insuperable difficulty in arriving at a common Imperial understanding on the basis of a mutual reciprocity, by making concession for concession.

To arrive at a common Imperial Customs Tariff would, it is now generally admitted, be impracticable. Each State of the Empire, whether self-governing or Crown Colony, can best regulate and administer its own fiscal policy, with due regard to differential duties in favor of Sister States, receiving in return equivalent consideration.

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The Mother Country, or rather a small part of it, which is wedded to prehistoric times, still repeats a fetish shibboleth which has long ceased to have any definite meaning, but the younger States mean to force the pace, unscared by banshees which her timidity has aroused. If an Imperial reciprocal understanding be not arrived at, they will look outside of the Empire to effect the policy of "give and take," which they now desire to see established between the different parts of the British Empire. It will be a fatal mistake if such a move be forced.

In 1887, at the first Colonial Conference, to which he was a delegate from the Cape, Mr. Hofmeyr made a memorable speech advocating a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Customs Tariff. Twenty years have passed by, and the feeling has intensified. If those States which now unanimously advocate it are driven to look to alien markets, the consequences will be deplorable. Of such a possibility what said Mr. Hofmeyr? "When one's loyalty and one's attachment to the Empire are thus divided against one's self-interest, it is only reasonable to expect that one's attachment to the Empire is very likely to suffer." In other words, affection will be transferred where means of support are to be found.

International Free Trade has been, and always will be, a dream. Imperial Free Trade, or Reciprocity if it be preferred, which is a very different matter, is the goal of the Empire's ambition.

On this subject I may fittingly recall the views of the late Lord Salisbury:*

> "The drawing nearer of the Colonies of this country is the policy to which English patriots must look, who desire to give effect in the Councils of the world to the real strength of the English nation, and who desire to draw all the advantages that can be drawn from that marvellous cluster of dependencies which distinguishes our Empire above any other Empire which ancient or modern times record."

The time has arrived when more than sentiment is required to bring Great Britain nearer to Greater Britain. The self-interests of the parts, and the common interests of the whole, can only be satisfied by mutual reciprocity on the basis of concession for concession.

ALFRED MOLONEY.

* His celebrated speech at Newport, Monmouthshire, October 7th, 1885.

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INVESTMENT SECURITIES.—IV.

BY FINANCIER.

Prior Lien Bonds.—The lien of bonds of this class, as their name indicates, is superior to that of some other issue. They may or may not be first-mortgage bonds.

The Erie Railroad Prior Lien Four Per Cent. Bonds of 1996 are so called because they take precedence over the General Mortgage Bonds. There are, however, six issues secured by liens on a substantial portion of the main line of the system to which the Prior Lien Bonds are junior.

The Northern Pacific Railroad Prior Lien Four Per Cent. Bonds of 1997 are secured by a first mortgage on substantially the entire property of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and are therefore regarded as very conservative bonds.

The Baltimore and Ohio Prior Lien Three and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1925 are secured by a lien, which is practically tantamount to a first mortgage, on a considerable portion of the main line of the road. These bonds are, therefore, favorably regarded among investment securities.

Divisional Mortgage Bonds.—Bonds characterized as Divisional Mortgage Bonds are usually the obligations of a large road, and further secured by a lien on a particular Division. The merit of this class of bonds, therefore, depends upon the strength of the issuing corporation and the importance of the Division. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Illinois Division, Three and a half Per Cent. and Four Per Cent. Bonds are justly regarded as gilt-edged securities. The issuing company, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, enjoys the highest credit, and the Illinois Division, upon which these bonds are secured, comprises the main line and branches of the road lying in the rich and populous northeastern quarter of Illinois. The

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Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway likewise has a number of Divisional Mortgage Bonds, all of which are classed as high-grade investments.

Branch Mortgage Bonds.—Branch Mortgage Bonds are very similar in character to many Divisional Mortgage Bonds. A Branch, however, obviously cannot well be a part of the main line of a system, whereas a Division may be. Few securities designated as Branch Mortgage Bonds have been issued during the past decade. The Missouri Pacific Railroad has outstanding an issue of bonds of this character; they are known as the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, Carondolet Branch, Four and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1938.

Guaranteed and Assumed Bonds.—When a large system absorbs a small road, it frequently buys the stock of the latter and guarantees its bonded indebtedness. The Guarantee is endorsed on the bonds of the subsidiary company and signed by the proper officials of the parent corporation. A Guarantee is strictly construed, and it should be as simple and brief as possible. The Guarantee of the Union Pacific Railroad appearing upon the Refunding Mortgage Bonds of the Oregon Short Line, due in 1929, is worded as follows:

> "For Value Received, Union Pacific Railroad Company unconditionally guarantees to the owner of the within bond the punctual payment of the principal and interest thereof as the same mature, and agrees itself punctually to pay the said principal and interest if default in the payment thereof be made by the Oregon Short Line Railroad Company."

When one railroad leases the property of another, it is frequently provided in the lease that the lessee corporation shall become responsible for all the obligations of the lessor corporation. It is almost necessary for the proper protection of the bondholders of the lessor, when the property by a pledge of which their bonds are secured is taken over and operated by another corporation, that their bonds should become practically a part of the indebtedness of the larger corporation. Especially is this so if the earnings of the smaller road are not kept separately, but are included in those of the lessee.

There may appear no intimation on the bonds of the subsidiary corporation that they have been assumed by another corporation. To inform himself of the terms and conditions upon which his bonds are assumed, the holder must turn to the lease.

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Leases of this character usually run for a very long period. Their term should, of course, be greater than that of the bonds assumed. The Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railroad is leased for the period of its corporate existence by the New York Central Railroad, which assumes all of the former's indebtedness. Many leases run for 999 years.

A few leases provide that their terms may be altered, or that the leases themselves may be terminated by the mutual agreement of both corporations. As far as the bondholder is concerned, a provision of this sort reduces the value of the assumption.

The worth of guaranteed and assumed bonds depends upon two considerations,—the value of the property upon which they are a lien, and the credit of the corporation guaranteeing or assuming the bonds.

Debentures.—Debentures, or Debenture Bonds, are not secured by a mortgage or by a lien on any specific property of the issuing corporation. For this reason, they are sometimes called "Plain Bonds." They are similar to the unsecured notes of an individual or corporation. In Europe, there are issued Debentures which are secured by the pledge of stocks or bonds as collateral, and, formerly, in the United States the word "Debenture" was not used to denote exclusively unsecured bonds. Now, however, the classification of plain bonds, not specially secured, as Debentures, is, in this country at least, pretty well established.

Some Debentures are issued by railroad corporations without the formality of entering into an agreement with a trustee for the benefit of the bondholders. Under such circumstances, the bond itself is the only instrument bearing upon the corporation's obligation.

The interest of a Debenture holder, however, is better protected when the railroad company enters into an agreement with a trustee, in which are set out in full the covenants of the railroad. An indenture of this kind usually shows that the issue has been properly authorized, and provides for certification by the trustee in order that the bonds may be properly authenticated, and in order that no more than the authorized amount may at any time be outstanding. The advantage to a Debenture holder in having his rights protected by an agreement or indenture lies, also, in the fact that, in case of violation of any of the covenants by the railroad, the trustee, as a representative of the bondholders,

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is in a position to take whatever steps may be proper to protect their interests.

While Debenture Bonds are not secured by a lien on any specific property of the company, there is frequently inserted in the indenture, covering the rights of the bondholders, a provision that, so long as any of the Debenture Bonds are outstanding and unpaid, the railroad company will not make any new mortgage upon its railroad without also thereby including therein every bond issued under the indenture equally and ratably with other bonds issued under and secured by any such mortgage. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company has two issues of Debentures outstanding, and in each instance the indenture provides against further issues of mortgage bonds without including the outstanding Debentures.

Only railroads of the first class can sell their unsecured bonds or Debentures at fair prices. Debentures rank inferior, of course, to all the mortgage securities of a road. Debenture holders are, however, creditors of the corporation, and their claim for both principal and interest must be satisfied before any distribution of dividends or assets of the corporation can be made to the stockholders; in other words, all classes of stock of a corporation are inferior as securities to the Debentures.

Convertible Bonds.—Bonds of this class may, on certain terms, be converted by their owners into the capital stock of the issuing corporation. In respect to security, Convertible Bonds are usually Debentures, *i. e.*, they are not secured by any lien or mortgage. Some convertible issues likewise are protected by an agreement on the part of the issuing road not to place any new mortgage on its property without including therein the convertible issue. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Convertible Four Per Cents. of 1955 and Convertible Five Per Cents. of 1917 are so protected.

The terms upon which the bonds may be converted into stock vary greatly. Some bonds are convertible into stock at par. Others are exchangeable for stock below par, and still others for stock above par. The Pennsylvania Railroad Convertible Three and a half Per Cent. Bonds of 1915 are convertible into stock at 150 per cent. of their par value; that is, bonds to the face value of $15,000 are convertible into stock to the face value of $10,000. The Union Pacific Four Per Cent. Convertibles are exchangeable for Common Stock of the company at $175 per

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share; expressed differently, the bonds represent a "call" upon Union Pacific Common at 175.

If Convertible Bonds are purchased at a quotation under par, it follows that they represent a call upon the stock at a price below the exchange rate named in the bond.

Most Convertible Bonds may be called for payment by the issuing company upon giving proper notice. The price at which they are redeemable is, however, usually well above the issue price, and an opportunity is always to be given to the holder to convert his bonds into stock prior to the date on which they are to be redeemed, should he so elect.

The period during which the bonds are convertible may be deferred for several years after the date of issue of the bonds, or may be limited to a portion only of their term.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad has recently authorized an issue of bonds which will not become convertible into the stock of the company until 1923. The bonds bear six per cent. interest, and, while this rate is regarded as very high for a corporation enjoying first-rate credit, yet the cost to the company of the money borrowed by means of these bonds will be less than it would have been had the money been raised by issuing stock at par, and should the company continue to pay eight per cent. dividends on its stock.

Large amounts of money have heretofore been borrowed by various roads on Convertible Bonds bearing three and a half per cent. and four per cent. interest. A convertible issue offers several advantages to the issuing company. The road anticipates that in the course of time, after the improvements, the cost of which was raised by the bond issue, have been completed and begin to produce or to increase income, the bonds will be converted into stock. Pending their conversion, they bear a comparatively low rate of interest. When the bonds are finally converted, the fixed interest charges will be reduced, and the credit and borrowing power of the road will stand unimpaired.

Convertible Bonds appeal to the investor who desires a moderately conservative security which likewise enjoys the speculative possibility of a material enhancement in market value, should a decided rise occur in the Stock Exchange quotations for the shares into which the bonds may be converted.

FINANCIER.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX, JOSEPH HORNOR COATES AND CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"THE ANCIENT LAW."*

A FITTING phrase for the theme of Ellen Glasgow's new novel might be applied from a very ancient writing: "Man-soul . . . becometh an understanding dream and fareth beyond this world." It is the inner life of Daniel Ordway that Miss Glasgow presents us, his struggles, his sufferings, his days of discouragement, his reactions in the teeth of calamity, his silent ponderings and inner growth, his progressive power of renunciation, and, finally, out of these, the enlarging of consciousness, the flowering of the fruits of the spirit.

When we recall that Miss Glasgow, with seven largely constructed novels behind her, is still on the earthward side of thirty-five, and when we see how steadily and surely her art has grown from "The Descendant" to "The Ancient Law," we realize that we have a born novelist to cope with; not, as one might have feared from the emotional intensity of "The Descendant" and "Phases of an Inferior Planet," merely a writer of one strong imaginative impulse, like Olive Schreiner, or a cultured craftsman looking about for a story to tell, like Mrs. Wharton. Miss Glasgow is a story-teller, first and foremost, with a keen insight into life; a mind still plastic, broadening and growing in ability to note the detail of life and to fathom meanings and relations and weave them into a whole.

Nor is it a common thing to find a born novelist. Poets and musicians are born, but novelists usually grow. The ability to depict life as it is freely and fully is usually the outgrowth of

* "The Ancient Law." By Ellen Glasgow. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1908.

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experience and of long practice; but Ellen Glasgow wrote "The Descendant" when she was eighteen years old, and it was a baffling performance. The reviewers, so long as the book maintained its anonymity, attributed it to various well-known writers and felt distinctly flouted when it turned out to be by a retiring little Southern girl. "Phases of an Inferior Planet," which followed the first book in less than two years, was somewhat crude in theory of life, but it contained chapters of as fine writing as Miss Glasgow has ever done. The following three stories, which established Miss Glasgow's rank among serious novelists—"The Voice of the People," "The Battleground" and "The Deliverance"—were all placed on the author's native soil, and dealt with the romantic period of Virginia history during the war and the time of the reconstruction, the painful rearing of a commercial democracy on the foundations of an agricultural aristocracy. The force of Balzac, it has been said, lay in representing the innumerable actual facts of the French civilization of his day. It is the same sort of service that Miss Glasgow has rendered to a smaller civilization. She has preserved in their integrity the types and the history of her native State during the last century.

"The Wheel of Life" had a change of setting, and only the subtler reviewers noted in the book Miss Glasgow's more mystical conception of life, her firmer grasp of the moral problem, her sense of the quiet at the heart of things, the centre round which the hours and days, with their events and changes, wheel. The hero of this novel already forecasts Daniel Ordway.

The Law is, indeed, that familiar, but still so little realized, law that he who loseth his life shall find it. "The Wheel of Life" treated this subject negatively; "The Ancient Law" starts from the same point and treats it affirmatively. In the early book, the things of the body, the lust of the eye, the glory of the flesh are weighed and found wanting; in the new book, the things of the spirit live triumphantly. In "The Ancient Law," we see that not man-made judgments, but love, mean goodness; not cutting off, but building up; not dissensions and distinctions and creeds that divide and destroy, but mercy and love and sacrifice, the underlying qualities which are universal; these win the soul's release.

Daniel Ordway learns that he only conquers life who lays down his life for others, not only in the little daily sacrifices of love and

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service, but to the last jot of self-protection. Ordway, who as penance practises this morality, is shown to great advantage against his uncle Richard, a character who never makes an impulsive mistake, who keeps always well within the bounds of legality, but who remains selfish, cold, self-centred and self-exalting, who oppresses the poor and helpless and escapes all the pains and penalties, as well as the joys, of a growth of spiritual perception. The two characters, set side by side, make one understand anew the Christ's condemnation of the Pharisee and his reiterated dictum: "I come to call sinners, not the righteous," etc.

Less than in any of the earlier novels does the all-pervading question of love and marriage play part here. A thread of emotional interest there undoubtedly is between Emily and Daniel; but both natures seem by suffering and discipline too detached to let passion become a compelling motive. Mr. James says somewhere that it is characteristic of the feminine hand, as distinguished from the masculine hand, that in any portrait of a corner of human affairs the love-story will be the dominant theme. This does not hold good in any of Miss Glasgow's novels; but this one is a drama of repentance, reparation and regeneration.

If it should seem from this analysis that the book is wholly introspective, I am giving a false impression. Philosophy of life is there and serious moral purpose, a distinct drawing of the line between seeming and real goodness; but there are also the constant play of life, the warm, sunny, often sordid atmosphere of that part of Virginia known as the "South-Side," and characters that range in the social scale from Mrs. Twine and her six scrubbed, screaming offspring to the passive and beautiful Lydia, who had inherited from a long line of ancestors of leisure an innate dislike to the emotions and the events of life.

There are many fine and haunting passages, and among them the first and last chapters stand out as being not only, in themselves, beautiful, but as sounding the key-note of the spiritual portent of the book and summing up the lesson of Daniel Ordway's life: "Then his vision broadened and he saw that, though the body of love is one, the members of it are infinite; and it was made plain to him at last that the love of Emily, the love of Alice and the love of Bank were but different revelations of the same immortality."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

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THE EASTERN DANGER FROM A BRITISH VIEW-POINT.*

MR. EVERARD COTES, an English journalist resident for a long time in India, shows in his new book a breadth and depth of insight, a calmly dispassionate and judicial attitude of mind and a culture of style which will indicate to American readers, to whom his name is doubtless chiefly familiar through the charming books which his wife has written, that he has unusual training. The volume itself is the fruit of an extended journey through China, Manchuria, Korea and Japan in the summer of 1906. He says: "Events of to-day in the Far East are posters for to-morrow"; and he gives the reader "some of the inscriptions which these posters bear." He is convinced "the new situation, so immediate and dramatic," plainly threatens "Anglo-Saxon interests"; but he is by no means an alarmist. The dangers he sees are economic, and those which grow out of the influence upon industrial development of the political and racial changes now transpiring in the Far East, or in inception. He writes for British readers, and in the final outcome his view is that "the potentialities of India as the coadjutor of Great Britain in the future of the Far East can hardly be overestimated"; but what he has to say possesses a timely and thoroughly practical interest for us in America as well. Current events, and those which may be anticipated in the next few years, both political and industrial, remind us once more that we shall be foolish to try to shut our eyes to the new "Eastern Question"; and this, not because the Philippines and Hawaii are part of the United States, but that year by year the whole world is being knit together closer and closer by indissoluble bonds with a rapidity which, most likely, we utterly fail to appreciate. The Tartar Wall is long ago obsolete in China; the political wall which the founders of the American Republic thought had been set up to isolate their country from the rest of the world is being breached in its foundations in the inevitable march of events. A hundred years ago it was both easy and obviously of advantage to "avoid entangling alliances"; the ease of it has apparently gone, the propriety of it in the future may not be so obvious. We can

* "Signs and Portents in the Far East." By Everard Cotes. With thirty-five illustrations. London: Methuen & Co. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies." By L. E. Neame. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

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hardly yet have begun to realize the enormous potentiality of racial intermingling and change which is inherent in the rapid development of transportation and communication due to steam and electricity. Looking back for fifty years we may get a perspective, but even then no assured vantage-ground from which to look certainly into the changes of the coming half-century in which the harvest of the recent past is to be reaped. At all events, if we in America do not set ourselves to realize that we are more surely, year by year, in the world and of the world, we shall at last have our eyes opened with pain and tribulation. To us, therefore, as well as to Mr. Cotes's fellow countrymen, there is much in the book of timely and weighty significance.

Through these far-Eastern countries, that are now for the first time looming so largely on the horizon of Western lands, he has travelled with keenly observant eyes, a thoroughly trained mind to assimilate and draw conclusions from what he sees, and a very unusual power of sympathy for the view-point of alien races. The treatment of his subject is conspicuously, and convincingly, temperate.

In China he notes that development along modern lines has been in progress for five years past, and makes many suggestive comments. About a year ago a highly intelligent officer in the Imperial Chinese army said to the writer of this review, "The modern movement has been going on for the last five years. If the Emperor can have his way, you will see China make more rapid progress than Japan has ever done." Mr. Cotes, however, does not think Western ideas have as yet taken a grip of the Chinese imagination; but that "the point of assimilation in methods, and even in morals, will no doubt some day come, and when it does we may look for a tremendous accompaniment." He saw a number of government factories turning out effective modern weapons, and noticeable drilling of troops; he says "power only, not will, is lacking for the complete expulsion of the European," but does not appear to anticipate any considerable increase of military strength in the near future. The hostile feeling is extending to the Japanese as well, "his failure to hand back Korea to China is confirming his old unpopularity"; and many things are noted which quite clearly indicate a significant waning of Japan's prestige and a reaction of Chinese racial pride to the old-time hostility towards the little Islanders.

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As to Korea: "To-day, however, the Korean hates the Japanese far more bitterly than he ever hated the other invader"—the Russian. The Koreans complain of injustice, oppression, brutality and inequality before the law, at the hands of their new masters. "At the moment, Korea is in a critical position. . . . The Japanese have made a most unfortunate start with their administration of the country." And this appears to be abundantly confirmed from all sources, and will recall, to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. William T. Ellis's picturesque details in his very interesting paper in the October issue of last year.

As to Japan itself, Mr. Cotes thinks the period of rapid development has for the time being culminated. "Japan has made her grand national effort, and must now rest to refit and recuperate. . . . Ten years of peace and careful economy are essential . . . everywhere there is a sharply defined need of money." He finds much to admire, but after all reaches the conclusion that the Japanese "must pursue the road of progress a very great deal further before he can overtake the white man at his best." It seems reasonably clear that the Western world need not greatly fear military aggression in the near future; Japan will not be in any good position to wage war for the next decade, and by that time if the comb of the Japanese cock needs cutting it is something more than possible that China may be relied on to do it—and take back the Shantung Peninsula, Manchuria and Korea! As for industrial aggression, it seems to concern Europe far more than America at this time. In the end, of course, those countries best fitted to produce will win out, whether East or West.

There is, to be sure, an ominous plenitude of good and extraordinarily cheap labor in the Far East awaiting modern conditions and opportunities of employment, and standing as a menace to Western industrial supremacy. It seems likely—perhaps inevitable, and no doubt desirable from the standpoint of the world's welfare, however different the Western view may be—that the East in increasing measure will supply its own wants by its own labor; and the effect of that will be, as always, to stimulate the demands of labor for a better wage and a higher standard of living. In the end, perhaps not very remotely, we may doubtless look for trades-unions or similar organization

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of the proletariat of the teeming East, bringing in their train the domestic economic disturbance which adds so heavily to the cost of production and reduces the power of aggressive competition with the outside world. Whether it be trades-unionism or some other expression of the advancing demands of labor, it can probably be relied on eventually to adjust the economic disparity with which the Orient now threatens Occidental races. And meantime, increasingly profitable home employment for Oriental workmen minimizes the danger to other countries of an industrial invasion by ill-paid Eastern proletaries. On the whole, we need have no fears, unless the white race is inferior to the yellow; if that be so, we must grow better or go under.

Apropos of recent manifestations of Japanese sensitiveness regarding infraction of treaty rights at San Francisco, the following passages are the more significant coming from one who is looking at the Japanese with a friendly eye:

"Japan is accused of breaking faith" in Korea "and in Manchuria with the European Powers. By treaty she is bound to respect local autonomy, and to give foreigners the same opportunity . . . as her own subjects enjoy. I have been told by men whose honesty cannot be doubted that this is not being done. European and American merchants and mining engineers find their operations hampered in many ways."

"Japan is . . . no place for the European who has to make his living. I refer not so much to European experts in Japanese employ, who are rapidly disappearing, but to the European merchants who do business on their own account. . . . Ostensibly, they are protected by treaty and given absolute equality of opportunity with their Japanese competitors. Practically, they are hampered upon all sides. They find the Japanese official in league with the Japanese merchant to undersell them. Regulations are rigidly enforced when they operate to the foreigner's disadvantage, but are read in an altogether different spirit where Japanese merchants are concerned."

"Complaints are loud-voiced. Japanese traders have been allowed to import their goods into Manchuria *viâ* Dalny, where they have paid no duty, for a full year, during which Europeans could only enter *viâ* Neuchwang, where import duties had to be paid. This appears to be now under rectification; but the rates upon the railways in the new territory, which are all in Japanese hands, are still complained of as designed to favor the Japanese at the expense of the foreigner. . . . Difficulty is not confined to Manchuria and Korea. The European resents the position to which he finds himself relegated in Japan, where he is welcome only if he is a tourist with money to spend in the country, and is hampered at every point if he tries to make a living for himself."

In view of this sort of evidence from a friend of Japan, one

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wonders whether the wrongs of a few school-children, a few keepers of intelligence-offices and restaurants, in the turbulent city of our Pacific coast, are not greatly overbalanced by what has been taking place for some time past in Korea, Manchuria and Japan itself; and whether our friends of the Island Kingdom are not a little disposed to view treaty obligations on the turkey-and-buzzard principle.

"Signs and Portents in the Far East" is so fair-minded and broad-minded, so acute in its observation and so well informed in its treatment of the subject, that it is of special value to American readers at the present time.

Mr. Neame's modest little volume deals with the commercial danger of allowing Asiatics to engage in trade in South Africa or Australasia because they are better fitted to survive competition than the white trader and undersell him in his own field. "The Asiatic invariably obtains a grip of the country he enters. . . . The Asiatic immigrant is . . . driving out the white trader." That is the burden of the Colonial complaint which is making all sorts of trouble for the Home Government. The Colonies want Asiatic labor, but strictly under time contracts which will oblige the coolie to be deported after his time expires; they will not allow him to remain because he will beat the white man at his own trade. They want the principle of "high protection" carried to its ultimate and final extreme. Perhaps they are right; but meantime Mr. Neame's book shows that the white rulers of South Africa are imposing far more rigorous and unjust conditions of trade upon resident Asiatic traders than Japan is accused of. And these Asiatics, thus forced to compete under laws expressly designed to "hamper" and even to oppress them, are not all foreigners, but chiefly fellow subjects of the British Empire from India. The embarrassment already brought upon British rule in India by this state of affairs is readily conceivable and is likely to increase.

Altogether, the affairs of the Far East in the years lying just ahead of us seem destined to play a very interesting and possibly an exciting part. It is not inconceivable that world changes, as yet quite unforeseen, may grow out of them; and there is no probability that we in America shall be able to hold ourselves entirely aloof.

JOSEPH HORNOR COATES.

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PAUL VERLAINE.*

Of all the poets, from Waring to Ernest Dowson, who have lost themselves in the nineteenth century, the most pitiable, the most pathetic, because in a sense the most helpless, is Paul Verlaine, the Pauvre Lélian of his own "*Poëtes Maudits.*" As François Coppée said at his funeral, he had remained a child to the end. He had only too often done the things which he ought not to have done, but he did them always suddenly, impulsively, driven on by one of those compelling whims which had so frequently led him to garrets, to hospital cots, and had thrice marked him with the brand of the criminal. Yet he believed in them still; at least, he followed them. Like Rabelais, he seemed to think that happiness lay at their end, *Bon espoir y gist au fond:* but he never found it and he was to be forever disappointed. Yet having yielded and having fallen, he would be overcome by the need of confession, and he would tell you all, ingenuously, naïvely, like a child. The unaccustomed silence of his room, a sheet of white paper and his pencil, and he would start his *peccavi:* a new-found friend and a little absinthe, and the sad story would have to be recounted. The café table became his confessional, the café blotter often his confessor.

This is the secret of his work, of his characteristic verse from "Saturnian Poems" to "*Œuvres Posthumes,*" of his prose which he could not help making autobiographical, as witness the "Confessions," "My Hospitals," "My Prisons," "The Memoirs of a Widower," even of his one volume of criticism, in which he could not refrain, *mutato nomine,* from passing judgment on himself. He was pent up in his own immediate experience, hedged in by his own horizon. The noises of the world came to die at the threshold of his cell, and like the squirrel in the cage he turned forever the illusive wheel of confession. Illusive,—for aside from its bringing him an occasional much-needed five-franc piece from his publisher, Vanier, and providing that catharsis for excess of sorrow which even so sane an artist as Goethe knew, his written confessions in poetry and his many unwritten ones in prose availed him nothing. Sincere as he was when he made them, and contrite as he momentarily felt, his *confiteor* ended, the late penitent was as willing and as ready to

* "*Paul Verlaine, Sa Vie,—Son Œuvre.*" By Edmond Lepelletier. Paris: Société du Mercure de France.

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sin as before. His poetry can therefore best be considered as the long, broken but sincere confession of a rather sorry sinner.

So let us not attempt the impossible and try to whitewash Verlaine. Far as that process has gone and much as it has included, Verlaine remains still beyond it. This literary Ethiopian will not change his skin for all the kind offices of biographers. Like Villon, he was frankly, avowedly, a very poor citizen. Besides being a very excellent poet, there are many other valid reasons which would have excluded him from any ideal republic. We may as well, as does his latest biographer, begin by admitting these faults, accept them as premises, and with the poems as conclusions consider the interesting process of their creation.

Most English readers have been content to believe that Verlaine was essentially a Latin Quarter product, that he spent his youth and manhood on the *Boul' Mich,* and that his vision of the world was seen only through the opalescence of absinthe. That idea has been strengthened by the excellent, if partial, appreciation of Arthur Symons, who, in his treatment of the French Symbolists, inclines to the interesting but rather dangerous view that the best literature is the reflection of the worst life; and the unpleasant, unsympathetic and totally unfair account of a visit to the poet by George Moore, the same Moore who had won a courted notoriety by the publication of the "Confessions of a Young Man," and certain novels, not distinguished for moral tone, like "A Mummer's Wife" and "Spring Days." It is not astonishing that so robust and masculine an intelligence as George Moore's should have failed to appreciate a talent as delicate as was, after all, Verlaine's; it is, however, extraordinary to find him in the study in question writing like a Puritan. He had gone to see Verlaine at a time when the poet, already afflicted by the hereditary malady which had carried off his father, was lying penniless and infirm in a dingy, and, we may well believe, dirty, little room off the Cour St.-François. He was in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes, had but recently lost through process of law the last of his patrimony, he was not yet the King of the Poets and the demigod of the Quarter, but without funds and with his constitutional incapacity for regular employment was waiting to be carried to one of the hospitals which were, from this time forth, so frequently to be his retreats. The circumstances might very well have inspired some pity.

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M. Lepelletier gives us a completer and a saner view. He and Verlaine had known each other from childhood, and it is no slight tribute to the poet that he should have kept such a friend through life. The two young men had begun their struggle together. They had been associated in the Parnassian movement, and had kept in touch to the last, as numerous letters here quoted will show. M. Lepelletier outgrew the earlier Bohemianism, has become a distinguished editor and novelist, and it is plain that in the closing years of the poet's life he looked upon him as the moral and physical invalid that he was. To him Verlaine had intrusted the making of his biography, and it has here been M. Lepelletier's intention to report Verlaine and his cause aright. It is a franker, fuller study of his character and temperament than the previous works of Morice and Donos. He admits the damaging quality of much of the evidence, and only in regard to the Rimbaud affair does he stop to combat what he considers uncharitable interpretations. He does not apologize; Verlaine's poems are his exculpation: he feels that one could forgive the author of "*Sagesse*" almost anything; and, after all, there is little to forgive. He harbored no malice, he could injure no one: he had wrecked his own happiness and the life teaches its own lesson. He was restless and impulsive. Like Waring and Dowson, like Jules Laforgue and Villiers de l'Isle Adam, he did not fit into that nook and cranny of the world into which he had been born. Hence it was that he was forever wandering. Like Baudelaire, he was afflicted with that poignant, unassuageable nostalgia for the places where he had not been. He lacked balance and poise, and it is this particularly that his enemies hold up against him. It is precisely this, however, that makes his poetry. To him life was instant and momentary; he had no philosophy, any more than Sappho and Catullus.

For him there was no pause, no station, no rest. For some years after his imprisonment at Mons, where he had seen the light on his road to Damascus, he seemed to have found it in the church, in the faith of his childhood, and he gave us the greatest religious poems of his century, perhaps the greatest since Dante. Released at last, he flees from temptation to England, where he teaches for a time in a quiet little boarding-school, and learns to love the English meadows and the sea, the sea which to him is "more beautiful than cathedrals," and which few of

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his country's poets save Hugo have learned to understand. Then he comes back to France again, and is accepted as professor of French literature in the strictly Catholic seminary at Rethel. It was a strange asylum for him who had been to Brussels with Arthur Rimbaud. But the priests loved this modest little man of many sorrows, and he lived for a time peacefully. Yet it could not be. Suddenly, inexplicably, the old longing, the need of changing his bed in this world's hospital comes over him again, and so without farewell, without a word, he leaves his sure retreat, the quiet college and his cell and the priests who did not know him. For a time he would live in the country and commune with nature, but the hand of the lutanist could hardly hold the plough; he was more interested in watching sunset and moonrise than in calculating seed-time and harvest, and so the experiment failed, as they all did. Then he drifts to Paris, and, being still unknown, he sinks to the depths in which George Moore found him. He was not really to reconquer himself again, and the remainder of his life was to be spent largely in the Quarter. His work was to lose its earlier directness and variety; he was fumbling in the strings. He had had a way of identifying himself with things seen; his descriptions were purely subjective, for to him, as to Amiel and Corot, a landscape was merely an *état d'âme*. He had, too, the *hântise* of the "far countrie." Yet his was not, if we dare use the word, the muscular impatience of inaction of an Odysseus or an Elizabethan voyager. It was the nervous unease of a sick child of his century, a younger and weaker, and yet assuredly a spiritual, brother of de Musset and Heine and Leopardi. He spent his life in conjuring with insubstantial "Beams" and shadows. He attempted to eternalize the fleeting moment, and through the necromancy of his words and the magic of his rhythms he has often succeeded. His is the poetry of immediate unrationalized experience; he could render sensation more convincingly than any singer of his time, and his life as here set forth by his biographer was a broken mosaic of such uncoordinated experiences. The story is frankly told by M. Lepelletier, and it is not in any sense an edifying one; yet it will be found most interesting by those who are concerned with that "new poetry" which his disciples believed Verlaine had invented.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: BERLIN.

LONDON, *February, 1908.*

PARLIAMENT reassembled on January 29th for what every one feels to be a momentous session—momentous not merely for this party or for that, but for the Kingdom itself. But before I attempt to elucidate its significance it is necessary to touch on two events that preceded it. On January 18th the result of the by-election in Mid-Devon was declared. Mid-Devon thitherto had been considered one of the safest Liberal seats in the country. It had never returned any one but a Liberal to Parliament. Even in the dark days of 1900, when the country was swept by a tornado of Jingoism and a Liberal suspected of pro-Boer sympathies was scarcely allowed to open his mouth in public, Mid-Devon stood by its colors. Nobody on either side suspected that at the recent by-election it would change its allegiance. The Liberal candidate, though a stranger to the constituency, was an able representative of an extremely able family, long associated with the service of the State. The Conservative candidate declared himself a convinced Tariff Reformer of the Balfourian school, put the fiscal question in the very forefront of his campaign, and made none of the too familiar efforts to face three ways at once. In these conditions a Liberal victory was everywhere looked upon as a foregone conclusion. But in politics there are no certainties. The Unionist was returned. Innumerable explanations, as usual, have been forthcoming to account for a result that no one expected. The "literature" employed on the Unionist side fixed upon the Government the responsibility for the general rise in prices that has taken place in the last eighteen months. Some believe that the issue was really determined by this audacious manœuvre. Others found in it a proof that the Tariff Reform propa-

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ganda, which is being pushed just now with renewed vigor all over the country, is at last beginning to tell. Others, again, maintained that the defeat of the Liberal was owing more than anything else to the hostility of the brewers, who are united to a man against the Government's licensing proposals. Others, however, argued that the Mid-Devon electors are still Free Traders and at a general election would sweep aside every minor issue in order to vote for the Free Trade candidate, but that they utilized the by-election to register their dissatisfaction with the Government's Socialistic leanings, with its alleged failure to maintain order in Ireland, with its too hasty onslaught on the House of Lords, and, above all, with its programme of old-age pensions. There is one other explanation I will mention. It is that the Mid-Devon farmers turned against the Government because of the Small-Holdings Bill, which has started its career with every omen of success, which promises already to become the Magna Charta of the agricultural laborers, and which must therefore impinge upon the farmers' social and economic ascendency. All of these explanations, in their several degrees, may be correct, but it is not easy to extract from them any comprehensive moral.

Of far more significance than the Mid-Devon election were the proceedings of the Labor Party, which began a five days' Conference at Hull in the third week of January. It adopted two resolutions in regard to old-age pensions and the problem of unemployment, and another, and an infinitely more important, one in regard to Socialism. It demanded a universal non-contributory pension scheme beginning at the age of sixty-five and financed by taxing the incomes of the rich. Such a scheme, it is estimated, would cost from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year, and would assuredly land this or any other Free Trade country that adopted it in Protection. The remedy for unemployment that appealed to the Labor Conference was the unlimited provision of work by public authorities. On this, too, I need at present say nothing. Far more startling was its action in regard to Socialism. A resolution to commit the Labor Party to Socialism is one of the hardy annuals of the Labor Conference. Hitherto it has been always shelved or defeated. At Hull it reappeared in the form of an amendment to the constitution of the Labor Party. The declared object of the party at present is "to organize and maintain a Parliamentary Labor Party with its own whips and policy."

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The amendment proposed that for the future the Labor Party should formally define its ultimate aims as "the obtaining for the workers of the full results of their labor by the overthrow of the present competitive system of capitalism, and the institution of a system of public ownership and control of all the means of life." In other words, the Labor Party was asked to declare itself a Socialist organization. The amendment was defeated by 951,000 votes to 91,000, and among those who opposed it most strongly were the Socialists themselves. They opposed it from considerations of expediency. To have pressed it home, to have carried it, would have meant running the almost certain risk of a rupture with the trade-unionists.

That was on Tuesday, January 21st. On the following day the delegates turned a complete somersault. A motion came before them declaring that "the time has arrived when the Labor Party should have as a definite object the Socialization of the means of production and distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes." This resolution was carried by 510,000 votes to 469,000. What is the meaning of a *volte face* so amazingly sudden and complete? According to many of the Labor men themselves, the explanation is very simple. Tuesday's amendment sought to change the constitutional basis of the Labor Party. If it had been adopted, no one in future could join the Party who was not prepared to pledge himself to the Socialist programme. But Wednesday's resolution was of a very different character. It merely declared that "the time has arrived" when the Labor Party should adopt Socialism "as a definite object." It was nothing more than a pious expression of opinion, intended to be entered on the minutes of the Conference, and of no practical significance. It does not exclude any one from the ranks of the Party; it does not prevent any one, even the most determined opponent of Socialism, from throwing in his lot with the Party. But I am bound to say that these casuistical distinctions, so far from convincing the country, disgust it. The average man cannot go to the trouble of distinguishing between the "constitution" of the Labor Party and its "object." What he sees is that the red flag has been

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hoisted and that the Labor Party has been captured by the Socialists, and he regards it as a very serious development. That certainly is how the Socialists themselves interpret the voting at Hull, and naturally they are jubilant. The trade-unionists, on the other hand, either minimize the resolution as "academic" or deny that the delegates were expressing anything but their personal opinions, or else admit the gravity of the crisis that has arisen and contemplate the possibility of secession from the ranks of the Labor Party. If the trade-unionists of the country were fairly polled, I have little doubt they would declare decisively against Socialism. As a rule, they are more interested in the provident and industrial than in the political side of their organizations. The officials they have chosen, however, are for the most part Socialists, and tend with an increasing celerity to emphasize their political character at the expense of their legitimate functions as trade-union leaders. What I believe to be happening is that an active Socialist minority is rapidly acquiring control of the political interests of English trade-unionism, in spite of the fact that the great majority of trade-unionists are anything but Socialists. After the Hull Conference the danger which threatens nearly every trade-union in the country can no longer be disguised, and it will be a matter full of moment for the industrial and political future of Labor to see whether the rank and file of the trade-unionists will continue to place their funds, prestige and interests at the disposal of the Socialists.

The commitment of Labor to the extreme formula of Socialism introduces a new and irritating element into the relations between Labor and Liberalism; it threatens to weaken, if not to destroy, the forces of progress; and it supplies the party of Toryism and reaction with an unequalled excuse for coming forward as the champions of property, individualism and the Constitution. "With a Labor Party on a trade-union basis," says the "Daily Chronicle," "Liberals could always work in sympathy, although they could not go the whole way with them. With a Labor Party which has become the instrument of revolutionary Socialist propaganda they could have nothing to do. They will oppose it to the utmost; they will oppose it in the interests of commerce and industry, and in the interests of the people themselves." Matters, of course, have not reached that pitch yet; they may never reach it. But it is certain that so

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long as the Hull resolution stands, and so long as the Labor Party and the Liberals continue to act more or less in concert, the implication of Socialism will to some degree attach to Liberalism, and that the Tories will be the only ones to benefit by it. I may add that the proceedings of the Conference have not increased the national respect for the Labor leaders' generalship. It is universally regarded as irresolute, flaccid and insincere, and the suspicion obtains that a Party, even though it may call itself Labor, which imposes no labor test, which is open to men of all classes, and which is largely directed by Socialists who are not working-men, is not necessarily a true exponent of the views of the "proletariat." But the raising of the Socialist bogey in this menacing form, on the morrow of the defeat in Mid-Devon, has unquestionably perturbed the Liberals and filled their opponents with anticipatory glee.

The King's Speech held no surprises for those who had followed the speeches of Ministers during the autumn campaign. It contains as formidable a programme as has ever been submitted to Parliament. The post of honor, which is also the post of danger, is held by the Government's Licensing Bill. The fight at this point will be desperate and prolonged. With the details of the Government's proposals I am not acquainted; but *their essence is to enable the State to resume control of the* liquor traffic by fixing a time-limit after which all payment of compensation on the non-renewal of a license shall cease and the license itself shall revert to the State, to be reissued, if at all, only on the basis of its full monopoly value—that is, on the basis of the additional value which a license confers on the premises to which it is attached. One need know very little of England to be sure that any scheme on these lines will be fiercely assailed. "The trade" is the most militant, the wealthiest, the best organized and the most pervasive business interest in the country, and it is prepared to put up the fight of its life, a fight that will ultimately determine whether it or the State is the stronger. The country is being bombarded with its appeals and protestations. It buys up whole pages in the newspapers for the purpose of setting forth its case. Every post seems to rain circulars in which the iniquity of the Government and the confiscatory nature of its proposals are painted in the blackest and most terrifying colors, mingled with sentimental references to the

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widows and orphans whose incomes are derived from brewery debentures. But the Government is equally resolute. Warned by a somewhat painful experience, it will decline to go as far as the Temperance extremists would like it to go. But towards its main goal of reasserting the supremacy of the State over "the trade" it will press, unless I am greatly mistaken, unwaveringly.

Another measure that was mentioned in the King's Speech and that will assuredly be embodied in legislation—a measure that marks a critical turning-point in the history of this country's social development and financial policy—is the Old-Age Pensions Bill. Mr. Asquith, it may be remembered, set aside from last year's surplus a sum of $11,250,000 as a nucleus for an old-age pension fund. This year he proposes to go a step further, and to outline a definite scheme. Here again the country has been pretty amply informed of the direction in which the Ministerial mind is working. The Government's plan, unlike the German plan, will be non-contributory, or contributory only in the indirect sense that, so far as the cost of the pensions falls upon the taxes, all classes of the community will bear their share in shouldering the burden. It will probably start at the age of sixty-five, and some attempt will be made to exclude those who either do not need or do not deserve State relief in their old age. The Government's policy is to proceed by stages, and for this year, at all events, to do no more than make a beginning. But it is a beginning of which no man can see the end, and though both the historic Parties have long been committed to the principle of old-age pensions, and though the Labor group especially is bent upon getting them, there are very few men who contemplate the decisive plunge without a certain dismay, who are not obsessed by doubts as to its ultimate effects upon the *morale* of the people and the national finances, who are quite confident that it will not involve a revolution of the fiscal system, or who look forward with entire tranquillity to the conversion of the State into a vast money-making machine controlled by politicians on the hunt for votes. A third measure, not so important, but far more controversial, will be Mr. McKenna's Education Bill. Its aim, it is understood, will be to reproduce the substance of Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1906, which was done to death in the House of Lords in a shorter and less complicated form. That means that the

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rabid sectarian squabble, into which all English discussions of elementary education quickly degenerate, is to be renewed with all, and more than all, its old bitterness. Mr. Birrell has given notice of two Irish Bills which also, if the past is any guide to the future, will be fought clause by clause and line by line. One deals with the old and thorny problem of a Catholic university in Ireland, and the other with the compulsory purchase of untenanted land for the purpose of relieving congestion in the western counties. There are several other measures promised by this insatiable Government which are concerned with minor, but not necessarily less contentious, projects of social and industrial reform—measures, for instance, providing an eight-hour day for coal miners, amending the laws relating to the housing of the working-classes, regulating the laying out of land needed for the development of growing towns, amending the valuation system, establishing a new authority for controlling the Port of London and improving the Acts relating to the protection of children and to the treatment of juvenile offenders. It is a courageous, a huge, I fear an unwieldy, programme. And vast and complex as it is, it is dominated by a yet greater problem—the problem of the House of Lords. The two Bills relating to Scottish Land and to the Scottish valuation system, which the Lords last year prevented from becoming law, are to be reintroduced in the House of Commons this session, passed rapidly through all their stages, and sent up again to the Upper Chamber. The campaign against the Lords, on which the Government has staked its existence and which will in all probability be the dominating issue of the next election, thus passes into a new and more stringent phase. The Government, in short, is nearing the decisive moment of its career, and great resolution and foresight among the leaders, inflexible loyalty among the rank and file, and a high degree of Parliamentary strategy will be needed if it is to emerge with credit and success.

ST. PETERSBURG, *February, 1908.*

IT is a matter of common knowledge that since M. Stolypin took over the reins of power the Tsar has given him a pretty free hand. In details he has differed from his Premier now and again and has carried his point, but in the only two cases

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of which the public has cognizance he was apparently right. He has also been known to disagree with M. Stolypin, yet to give way in the end; and in at least one instance of this it would have been better—many say—had he stood firm and carried his point. However this may be, the Tsar's greatest sin in the eyes of all parties at the present moment is his slowness to act on his own convictions lest he should spoil the work of his official advisers. But it is only fair to add that the Cabinet is guilty of an analogous offence. It acts as though it entertained no faith in itself or in anybody else.

Undoubtedly the mistakes of the Cabinet are endangering the existence of the third Duma. Already people are discounting the impending dissolution, and speculation is rife as to what will come after. It is taken for granted that the resignation or dismissal of the Premier will usher in this momentous change. The proximate cause of the break-up, politicians affirm, will be the refusal of the deputies to approve the naval programme of the Government and to sanction the cost of carrying it out. But in the structure of this argument too much is taken for granted. If the Government insists on receiving the sum requisite —about $150,000,000—for the rebuilding of the Navy, and if the Duma withholds its assent on the ground that the money, if entrusted to the present staff of officials, would be ill spent, then perhaps the door would be open to fateful consequences. But the facts of the case do not compel one to accept these postulates.

The Marine Department holds that a fleet above the water, as well as a flotilla below the water, is a prime necessity for Russia; and in order to acquire the requisite vessels asks for a credit amounting to the sum already mentioned. How the political parties will act when they find themselves at the ballot-boxes one cannot say, but at present they angrily refuse to entertain the notion. Nor is it only Socialists and Constitutional Democrats who object. The Octobrist party, which enjoys the goodwill of the Premier, and even the members of the Monarchist Right are equally emphatic in their condemnation of the reconstruction scheme. The grounds for this attitude are various. Some allege that Russia cannot afford such a vast sum for battleships during her present straitened financial circumstances, which do not allow her to spend more than $25,000,000 yearly for educational purposes. They further urge that, whatever the sum

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at first asked for, it would not be final; but it would entail the payment of further sums every year for the upkeep of the ships, and would thus help to cripple the material growth of the nation. Moreover, these deputies maintain that a powerful fleet is superfluous because Russia possesses no merchant navy worth such a costly method of defence, and no coast likely to be attacked except Vladivostok, which could be defended cheaply and efficiently by creating a first-class stronghold there.

Other deputies, mainly members of the Monarchical parties, admit the need of a powerful Navy and are willing to pay for it. All that they ask is that the money shall be spent to good purpose, but they are convinced that this will not be the case until a clean sweep is made of the officials who now run the department. "We want honest men in the first place and clever men afterwards," one prominent Monarchist remarked; "and if we give the present corrupt bureaucrats the spending of the nation's money a large part of it will stick to their pockets, and with the remainder they will build ships that will turn turtle in a storm or spring a leak on a long trip." And they adduce facts in support of their thesis. During the war the Canet-Lafettes on which the ships' guns lie often broke, and at the Vladivostok engagements these mishaps handicapped the Russians. Hence the Canet-Lafettes were condemned. Yet they are still used on board all the vessels that have come out of the war unscathed. The Russian type of armed cruisers was also shown by the war to be dangerously defective, and only one of these ships behaved well in action. That was the "Bayan," and it differed from the others only in having an uncommonly good commander. Yet the Ministry of Marine, heedless of this fact, has recently ordered three more cruisers of that same type. Among the parliamentary opponents of the Government Bill are some whose chief or only objection is that an up-to-date powerful Navy cannot be built in Russia, and they find it impossible to favor the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars in support of foreign ship-building and to the ruin of their own. Lastly many deputies declare that, even if the battle-ships were built, Russia has not suitable seamen and bluejackets to man them.

Members of the Cabinet and prominent deputies have already informally exchanged views on the subject, and the result is not encouraging to the Government. Neither side shows any willing-

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ness to give way. The Ministry of Marine is resolved to abate nothing of its demands, and the parties are minded to veto them at all costs. Count Uvaroff, a distinguished member of the Octobrist party, has let it be known that, in the course of the informal negotiations, undue pressure was brought to bear upon them in the guise of a contingent threat to dissolve the Duma. He went on to say, however, that threats would have no effect on himself nor, he believed, on his party. They consider that the interests of the nation will be best served by saying "No" to the Government, and they will accordingly say "No" with due emphasis. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Duma's refusal would not entail the abandonment by the Government of its reconstruction scheme. For the legislative assembly cannot effectively veto expenses for the Army or the Navy.

Contemporary history teaches us that neither parties nor Cabinets eat their soup as hot as it is cooked. They generally give it ample time to cool. To-day the excitement in both camps is, so to say, at the boiling-point; but by the time the debates have come on and the Duma gets ready to vote—say in a month or six weeks—the cooling process will have made satisfactory progress. And as the deputies' adverse vote cannot take effect, neither will the Government's threats be carried out. Nobody with power or influence, neither Tsar nor Premier nor any constitutional party, wants the third Duma to be broken up. For if that goes much else will go too, and the chances are considerable that no legislative body of the same type will meet again in Russia. The belief is deep-rooted and wide-spread that if the third Duma proves a failure a new kind of assembly will be created, which many bureaucrats and some politicians think better suited to Russia than the Duma is. It would consist of fewer members, who would be elected not directly by the people, but by such elective corporations as urban municipalities and rural zemstvos, would sit about four months in the year, and would elect a permanent committee to prepare the materials, draft the bills and keep the machinery working smoothly. Whether this scheme will ever be realized is very doubtful, but it is not likely to be entertained unless the third Duma breaks down. And there are no good grounds for assuming that the vote on the naval estimates will prove the rock on which it will go to pieces.

On the whole, however, it cannot be gainsaid that the third

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Duma falls far short of even moderate expectations. It moves at snail's pace and busies itself with the veriest trifles. Having worked seventeen days out of seventy before Christmas, it adjourned for a three weeks' rest. Yet, when legislative business was resumed on January 21st, there was hardly a quorum of a third of the members present. The Speaker, M. Khomiakoff, complained to a journalist lately that many deputies appear to have forgotten the existence of the Duma and of the Tavrida Palace, seeing that they have not once put in an appearance there since their arrival in the capital. He looks with disfavor on the practice of choosing for treatment petty questions that are devoid of interest and unlikely to arouse discussion — such as whether a certain sum should be given for the rent of a house for the guardians of the orphans of noblemen in the city of Perm, or whether the nuns of a certain convent in the south of Russia shall have their coughs and colds cured at the expense of the Crown or at their own. The result is that whereas the first Duma, which existed only for seventy days, drew up house rules for itself and also passed a public administrative law, the third Duma did less during the seventy days of its existence. The Speaker further explained that it is not in his power to expedite matters or even to sift the important from the unimportant bills —only the Chairmen of the Committees can do this. At present, he said, there are no urgent bills ready. No project can yet be laid before the upper chamber, although the Duma has dealt with eleven, "because the drafting committee has not once come together. And the very same thing is happening with other committees. . . . In Russia everything is fleeting. Thus there was a time when the zemstvos aroused intense interest; afterwards they were clean forgotten. . . . In the community no real genuine interest for anything is noticeable. If there be any it is artificial; this is true even of the interest shown in the Duma."

When the Speaker himself passes such a severe judgment on the Duma there must be something very defective somewhere.

But turn to whatever institution you may and you will find that the defects, not the qualities, are making themselves felt, and painfully felt, just now. The railway departments, the general staff of the Army, the Admiralty, the Ministry of Public Instruction, even the Most Holy Synod itself, are all sinning, or said to be sinning, against the interests of the nation. Take

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the Most Holy Synod. That is a body of high ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the several Metropolitan Archbishops, which governs the Church instead of the patriarch, whose office was abolished by Peter the Great. This year the Emperor, exercising his legal right, himself appointed the several members of the higher clergy who are to take part in the labors of this session. And they have begun by disapproving those legislative bills which are grounded upon the scheme of religious toleration that was unfolded in the Imperial ukase of Easter, 1905. For example, it used to be a punishable offence in Russia for the members of any creed, except the established Orthodox Church, to seek to make proselytes. This law was then modified, and nobody was liable to punishment for converting or perverting a member of the Orthodox faith unless it could be shown that among the means employed there was an abuse of authority, compulsion, guile or a promise of recompense. Now the Most Holy Synod has given utterance to the view that the right of freely spreading its tenets belongs only to the Orthodox Church. As a corollary of this theory, the Synod asks that the prohibitions which formerly kept the members of rival creeds from enticing away sheep of the true fold shall be left in vigor. The liberal press is greatly indignant at this refusal of the prelates of the Church to dance to the piping of the latter-day tunes. But to the mere onlooker the danger seems unreal. For, after all, the Most Holy Synod represents one of the oldest Christian Churches in existence. It boasts that it has not changed since the death of Christ, and that it possesses the only true saving doctrine. Consequently, it would be unfair to upbraid the Most Holy Synod for wishing to spread the only true doctrine and for not altering with the times. Change may be good, desirable, urgent. But it is not in the Orthodox Church that one would naturally look for it. Another tranquillizing consideration is that the Most Holy Synod has the right of expostulating and recommending, but not of giving, laws to the Russian Empire. And until the principle of intolerance has been embodied in the penal code it is too early to complain.

There can be no doubt that the Orthodox Church has been sorely tried since the revolutionary movement began. Scores, nay, hundreds, of thousands of her nominal children have quitted the fold and gone over to the adversary, while many of those

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who remain behind are openly fighting against the dogmas or the traditions of Orthodoxy. And now, whenever a prominent ecclesiastic is about to be severely punished, he generally escapes to the enemy's camp. It was thus that quite recently the Archimandrite, Michael, when on the point of being rigorously dealt with, announced that he had, as a Hibernian once put it, abandoned the errors of the Orthodox and embraced those of the Old Believers' Church. And now another ecclesiastical light has become a firebrand. Father Petroff, an esteemed popular preacher, falsely denounced by a brother clergyman, was recently called to account by his ecclesiastical superiors. Refusing to answer their questions, he has now written a letter to the Metropolitan Archbishop of St. Petersburg expounding his politico-religious views. And in this confession he reveals himself as a Socialist, a Utopist and a severe judge of Russian Autocracy and Orthodoxy.

Father Petroff affirms that, after nineteen centuries of Gospel preaching, there is no Christian form of government; that there is neither a Christian society nor a Christian State. "Kings take their realms for their estates, and look upon their people as their herds. In lieu of serving the nation, they want the nation to serve them. . . . '*Sacred* property' the highest classes term what they have wrested by violence or acquired by guile. When they owned slaves they bestowed upon them, too, the name of '*sacred* property.' . . . If the well-to-do could but seize the sky, the air, the ocean and the stars, they would declare all this their *sacred* property. They would let them at exorbitant rents and turn them into a source of unearned income."

Father Petroff stigmatizes war as scientifically arranged massacre, condemns capital punishment which is now an every-day occurrence in Russia, and makes the Monarch and his Ministers personally responsible for it. Nay, he bestows on them the name and the attributes of executioners. "The hangman is just such an instrument of punishment as are the gallows and the noose. It is a higher executioner who strangulates—viz., the judge who utters the death sentence. Aye, he who executes is the administrator who ratifies the sentence. He who strangulates is the Minister who erects gallows all over the country, and looks upon the gallows as his mainstay and his force. The hangman of the condemned is that supreme authority that sanctions the introduction of the gallows by the Minister."

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The view taken by Father Petroff of the Church, of which until a few weeks back he was regarded as an ornament, is gloomy in the extreme, and will probably provoke his suspension as a clergyman and possibly his excommunication as well. The following passage from his unpublished letter to the Metropolitan Archbishop contains the gist of it: "The governing monks with their cold, lifeless, bony fingers have throttled the whole Russian Church, stifling its creative spirit; they have manacled the very Gospel and sold the Church as a mercenary to serve the ruling power. Pobiedonostseff's synodal department has made the Church, this bride of Christ's, the concubine of the State. There is no manner of violence, no sort of crime, no misdeed of the State-governing power which the Church-governing monks have not covered with their ecclesiastical mantle, have not hallowed."

Probably by the time this letter is in the hands of the readers of the REVIEW Father Gregory Petroff will have ceased to be a clergyman of the Russian Orthodox Church.

One of the gravest mistakes made by the present Cabinet is the postponement of departmental reform. Almost every Ministry is an Augean stable abounding in abuses which have done more to discredit the *régime* than all the arbitrary acts of the administration. The corruption of certain classes of officials, especially those who come in contact with foreign joint-stock companies and those who take the delivery of war-ships, etc., is proverbial. It might, of course, be equally great if Russia were a republic. But, as a matter of habit, everybody associates the *régime* with these abuses and makes the monarchy responsible for them. It is thus that the *régime* suffers from the odium that attaches to the Minister of Marine, although if it depended on the court these abuses would probably be swept away in a few months. It would, therefore, be a clear gain if the Cabinet purged the departments, raised salaries, penalized bribery and took efficacious means to have the law observed.

The law court at which the defenders of Port Arthur are being tried is another mud volcano. Daily it bespatters men who heretofore stood fairly well with their fellow citizens; General Kuropatkin is one of these. He deposed at the trial that Port Arthur was not, and could not be, a first-class fortress because it was built in two years, and no formidable stronghold could be constructed in that time. Moreover, the city of Dalny, which was "erected

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by Witte unknown to Kuropatkin," annihilated the value of Port Arthur as a citadel. Kuropatkin swore to this deliberately. Then it was proven that his memory had played him false, that he had known all along of the scheme to build Dalny, approved it orally and in writing, and even proposed three names for the new city, none of which the Emperor accepted. It has also been shown that, when the Tsar sent him as War Minister to examine the state of Port Arthur about six months before the outbreak of the war, he reported to the monarch that "we may now be easy in mind about the fortress of Port Arthur. The fortifications of Port Arthur are coming to an end, and will render it, when adequately governed and victualled, impregnable by sea and by land. . . . At present there is no ground for alarm even if the greatest part of the Japanese army should attack Port Arthur. We have the force and the means of defending it alone against ten to fifteen enemies. . . . Now, therefore, we need not be anxious." As these two statements are contradictory, say the organs of the liberal press, it is fair to ask whether Kuropatkin was telling an untruth when he assured the Tsar before the war that Port Arthur was impregnable, or lately at Stoessel's trial when he informed the court that Port Arthur was a wretched makeshift of a stronghold and could not be otherwise. And the newspapers are now clamoring for his trial.

BERLIN, *February, 1908.*

ALTHOUGH the effects of the great financial crisis in America last November are gradually being overcome in Germany, as elsewhere, there are various more or less permanent factors in German and Prussian finance which, in view of the susceptibility of the Berlin Bourse to Wall Street influence, possess a more than purely Continental interest. Financial and commercial developments in the United States are followed with close attention in this country, and recent events in this sphere in America have been made the subject of repeated discussion in the Reichstag, as well as in the reports of Chambers of Commerce and other trade associations.

With regard to the crisis itself there is a wide-spread popular disposition to ascribe its origin to President Roosevelt's campaign against the Trusts, and it is felt that any attempt to impair the financial activity of the Trusts must, of necessity, react upon

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the whole economic life of America. Due importance is attached to the President's view that the greater the crisis the sooner it will be overcome; but, in agreement with opinions which have already been expressed in the American Senate, it is held that the challenge to the Trusts has come too late. In other quarters it has been suggested that the whole crisis has been the result of a speculative attempt to influence prices on the international stock and money market. But, whatever the cause of the crisis may have been, its effects, as far as Germany is concerned, have been unmistakable. According to the official estimates of the Statistical Department, the fight for gold in America resulted in the export, during November alone, of nearly $40,000,000 of German gold, and the withdrawal of close upon $8,000,000 worth of gold from the Imperial Bank during the first week of that fateful month resulted in an increase of the official discount rate to seven and one-half per cent. It is not without a certain uneasiness that in agrarian circles, for example, it has been noted that on an average American exports to this country annually exceed in value German exports to the United States by some $125,000,000. In 1906 the excess was estimated at as much as $150,000,000. The American returns, it is true, estimate this excess at under $100,000,000. The discrepancy is admitted in this country, but it is maintained that for practical purposes there is no reason why raw materials, such as copper and cotton, which are destined for re-export in the form of manufactured goods, should not be included. But, whichever estimate is accepted, there undoubtedly remains a wide margin against Germany which is not covered by the earnings of the large shipping companies, like the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American Line, or by the interest on American securities in German hands. In addition, there is the enormous sum of $75,000,000 for which German insurance companies have admitted liability in connection with the San Francisco earthquake.

In the mean time Germany is continually liable to have to submit to the withdrawal of large quantities of gold with calamitous results. The makeshift weapon of defence at the disposal of the Imperial Bank is an increase of the official discount rate to a prohibitive figure. A bank rate of seven per cent. at the beginning of 1907 and one of seven and one-half per cent. at the beginning of this year is a phenomenon which calls for remark,

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and it is well to remember that, as far as Germany is concerned, quite apart from recent American requirements, these increases have been due to the overwhelming excess of demand over supply on the capital-market rather than to developments on the money market. Thus, according to the estimates of the "Cologne Gazette," at the close of the year 1906 the thirteen largest German banks had granted credits to the amount of considerably over $1,000,000,000; and although the figures for 1907 are not yet available, it is probable that this sum has been increased by anything from $200,000,000 to $250,000,000. This enormous increase in the demand for capital in its turn has been the result of a universal rise of prices and of the extraordinary growth of production. Side by side with these developments there has been an appreciable lessening of consumption and demand. Dearer credit has reacted upon the building industry, and the partial paralysis of this trade has in turn reacted upon the iron and steel industry, with the result that in a number of important centres production has been reduced or temporarily suspended. In January there were 30,000 unemployed in Berlin alone.

And yet, notwithstanding this array of eminently unfavorable factors, the recent crisis has shown the essential solidity of the foundations upon which German commerce and industry are based. The crisis came to a head at a moment when over-production and over-speculation had tied down large sums of capital in industrial undertakings. But thanks to the effective resistance of German industry and to the process of amalgamation which has been going on in an increasing number of its branches, the force of the blow was broken, and the German financial system has emerged from the ordeal shaken, but not discredited. If conditions in America exhibit any genuine signs of permanently settling down there is likely to be a corresponding return of confidence in this country.

But, as has already been indicated, there are unmistakable symptoms of the imminence of an industrial crisis in Germany, and although it is not yet possible to predict the proportions which it will assume, there is reason to fear that a second trying ordeal is in store. There can be no reasonable doubt that German industry, commerce and finance will survive this fresh trial, but the prospect of a repetition even on a small scale of the industrial collapse of 1900 has a depressing influence on trade.

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The depression of trade, the increased cost of living and the prospect of still more unfavorable economic developments have been followed by a wave of political discontent. Quite apart from these factors, the period of comparative tranquillity in German foreign affairs which has succeeded the alarms of the last two or three years has given the German people leisure to inquire into their domestic affairs, and dissatisfaction with prevailing economic conditions has been transferred to the political sphere at home. In observant quarters it has long been felt that the artificiality of certain aspects of German *Weltpolitik* was, perhaps, not altogether unconnected with a desire to distract public attention from various domestic problems which the Government felt it inconvenient to approach. This policy of procrastination will now have to contend with an opposition which, once popular feelings have been aroused, it will be difficult to silence.

Engendered by discontent, and encouraged by the example of Austria last year, the agitation for a reform of the Prussian franchise, with its class system of suffrage, which even Bismarck was wont to describe as the worst in Europe, is in full swing, and although it would be hazardous to predict its chances of success, the Radicals and some of the Liberal elements, as well as the Social Democrats, have adopted this question as one of the integral planks in their platform. Like the Socialists, the Radicals have long made the Prussian franchise the subject of criticism in season and out of season. But while the former have elected to make street demonstrations their chief means of propaganda, the Radicals are minded to pursue the end in view in a more Parliamentary fashion. For the present, moreover, the Radicals are still sufficiently jealous of their position in the *Bloc* not to renounce their allegiance to Prince von Bülow, notwithstanding the fact that the Imperial Chancellor in his capacity as Prussian Minister-President is the strongest pillar of the conservative and reactionary *régime* in Prussia. The forthcoming campaign in connection with the elections to the Prussian Chamber is likely to make it plain what attitude the rank and file of the Radical party throughout the country are likely to compel their representatives to adopt. Theoretically and practically the course which the Social Democrats have chosen in transferring their agitation to the streets, and in trying the patience of the authorities by a series of more or less violent

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demonstrations, is to be condemned. To render the principal thoroughfares of Berlin and other large towns unsafe for ordinary traffic is a proceeding which no political motives, however pardonable and natural in themselves, can excuse. Morally, however, the Socialists may claim in justification of their action that, debarred as they are for want of Parliamentary representation from stating their grievances in the Chamber, they have no other means of calling attention to the disabilities of the Prussian working-classes. And, indeed, it is a curious anomaly that, although in Prussia the Socialists poll almost as many votes as the Conservatives, who constitute nearly one-half of the whole Prussian Chamber, they have not a single representative in that House. The same voters, moreover, who as Prussians are debarred by the indirect suffrage system from returning a single deputy to the Lower House of the Prussian Diet, in their capacity as Germans, and under the universal, equal and direct suffrage which governs elections to the Reichstag, have been able to return as many as eighty members to the Diet of the Empire. The Conservatives alone feel it to be in their interest to maintain this Gilbertian situation which ascribes to one and the same person a higher or lower degree of political intelligence according as he is a German or a Prussian. The Prussian franchise as now constituted is the cornerstone of the whole reactionary edifice. But street demonstrations are worse than useless against Prussian Conservatism fighting with its back to the wall. The Government has already proclaimed its intention of dealing more severely with each successive demonstration as it takes place. The Socialist leaders would be ill-advised if they allowed the masses to get out of hand and to provoke the intervention of the military. The conditions of street warfare have changed since 1848, and the mob which should try to stand up to barricade itself against modern weapons of precision would soon be reduced to reason. The Government has accordingly shifted all responsibility for future developments in this direction on to the shoulders of the Social Democracy. As a matter of fact, the association of the Socialists with the franchise agitation is likely to make it unpopular, and to retard reform. A striking illustration of this political antipathy is to be found in the ultimate failure of the Socialists to defeat the Tariff in 1902-3, when their tactics ranged the opponents of the Tariff on the Government's side.

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THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

We Make Reply to a Critic.

WE have received the following letter from Grand Rapids, Michigan:

"*To the Editor of The North American Review:*

"SIR,—I have been for more than a score of years a regular reader of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. There have been in the REVIEW from time to time through all of these years articles which I have felt to be more or less incorrect, but I have had no fault to find with the REVIEW because I have not approved of all that was in it. Its policy of neutrality, or of presenting both sides, in some of the most important matters of political and religious opinion I have held in high respect, although there have been times when the neutrality has seemed to be poorly maintained. But the REVIEW has been characterized by its very many valuable and able articles on a wide range of topics secured from many of the ablest men of this country and of other lands. I have generally looked to its coming with much interest and anticipation and have not often been much disappointed.

"For the last year or more I have found my appreciation of the REVIEW very much changed. It has indeed contained valuable articles,—the last number, that for December, 1907—notably so. But with these valuable articles there have been so many of so little value to very many, and I believe the large majority, of its readers, and with those so much of *editorial misstatement and misrepresentation*, that the perusal of the REVIEW has given me more of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. Without mentioning much of which I have disapproved, I wish to say that the personal attacks in the early part of the year upon President Roosevelt and Secretary Root in the Editor's Diary were, as it seemed to me, so unfair and misleading as to be outrageous. Nobody unless a very few extremists for 'States' rights,' such as the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has shown himself to be, has had at any time any fears or thoughts that the Constitutional rights of the States were in danger of being subverted by the President or his Cabinet. The *animus* of the editor's persistent misrepresentations was shown in the statement in the REVIEW for December, 1906, page 1325: '*In spite of the fact that the Union was and is no more than a compact for mutual protection and helpfulness of sovereign bodies politic.*' That statement is an *anachronism*—unworthy of a place

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in any respectable publication of this century. It is the doctrine of Calhoun restated. It was precisely that doctrine that was responsible for secession and the terrible and prolonged civil war.

"The war finally settled forever that pernicious fallacy, and it is not creditable to the *intelligence*, much less to the *patriotism*, of any man in this century to exhume and attempt to revive that *long buried political heresy*. According to that doctrine, this country *is not now a nation*, but only a union by compact of sovereign States, notwithstanding that the *Constitution of the United States* begins: '*We the people of the United States*'—not we the several *sovereign States* of the United States—'do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.'

"I looked for months for an article in the REVIEW replying to the false position and misrepresentations of its Editor's Diary, but I have seen nothing. In the absence of any such reply, I regard it as only fair to a representative reader of the REVIEW and to its publishers and to the truth of history and the sentiment of the country—not to say to the President of the United States and his Secretary of State—that this *dissent* and *protest* shall be sent to you.

"I will add to the above that the screed in the Editor's Diary of the last number of the REVIEW, 'A Plea on Behalf of Satan,' is a piece of *tomfoolery* barren of humor as well as of sense, unworthy of the REVIEW.

"THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has an honored history and prestige. It has been a medium of the discussion of great themes. Its readers have been people who could appreciate mature thoughts of the best minds on the great questions of the passing years. As a reader of the REVIEW I appeal to the publishers to maintain its prestige and increase rather than fritter away its value. Keep it worth the reading of the thoughtful and intelligent people, and it will not lack for readers. Fill it with worthless articles and let its editorial space be occupied with nonsense and with extinct or false political theories, and its influence will rapidly dwindle and its years be few.

"(*Sgd.*) THEO. D. MARSH.

The reverend gentleman who writes this letter is professionally, and doubtless personally, concerned in furthering the moral welfare of men, including, as it seems, our own. That we have some virtues he has attested, and thanks are due to him for his generous recognition of them; for, when a man is angry with his neighbor, it costs him usually an added pain to pause in his denunciatory speech, and to admit that the object of what he deems his righteous wrath is not wholly worthy of condemnation. It is true that our stern judge does not extend his mercy promiscuously, for he excludes from it the Diary; but such is his apparent love of justice that we are tempted to make an effort to show him that he is not warranted in his feeling.

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What is this woful anathema against the playful "plea in behalf of Satan"? The subject is not taboo; indeed, better men than we have sported with it. Of course, there was no sense in the little piece if it was, indeed, "a piece of tomfoolery," nor yet could any man of wholesome sense be rid of his occasional fooleries without injury to his own nature. "Foolery, sir," said the clown to Viola, "does walk about the orb like the sun; it shines everywhere." And Horatius Flaccus sang his conviction that it is wholesome on occasion to indulge in foolery. So Shakespeare and Horace, who could be grave enough, possessed also their humor and were grateful for it. Neither they nor we admit that "tomfoolery" is necessarily without humor. We would be sorry to offend any of the cherished prejudices or wound the sensibilities of an admirer of our grave contributors, but it is clear from the context of this letter that its writer was in no mood to enjoy humor or even to recognize its presence. That, however, is a matter of slight importance compared with our correspondent's animadversions upon our criticism of the President and some of his policies.

If we may be permitted to say so without being accused of undue irreverence, those who are partisans of our present President are, like him, almost inevitably the victims of desultory tempests of passion whenever he, or his "policies," are criticised. These victims of wrath seem to lose their hold upon the "vantage-ground of truth." They deny what is. They assert what is not. They will contradict the evidence of their senses. Here, for example, is our correspondent asserting that we are guilty of "editorial misstatement and misrepresentation," and charging us with making "personal attacks" upon the President and Secretary Root that are "so unfair and misleading as to be outrageous," his specification being that we have pretended to fear that the "constitutional rights of the States were in danger of being subverted by the President or his Cabinet." What can such sweeping assertions indicate but that, in the imaginations of some men, one cannot differ with Mr. Roosevelt without making a "personal attack" upon him? If Mr. Roosevelt should contend that the markings upon Mars were lines of troops eager to pounce upon this unready earth, and if the gentle Lowell should insist that they were merely peaceable canals, such persons would condemn the astronomer, and hector him for his "personal abuse" of the

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President. It should not be necessary to remind any of our readers that there is no "personal attack" involved in merely differing with the President, but we fear it would be useless to attempt to explain the matter to those who think that there is.

For the rest, there is set forth in the very article for which the Rev. Dr. Marsh condemns us abundant proof, in Secretary Root's own quoted words, that it has been, and is, the purpose of the President—his purpose having been expressed by the Secretary of State and by himself—that the Federal Government shall hold itself ready in certain contingencies to usurp, by the indirect and indefensible method of "constructions" of the Constitution, powers that constitutionally belong to the States. Here is one of the Secretary's pronouncements, quoted in the condemned article, on the occasion of the celebrated Pennsylvania dinner: "New projects of national control are mooted; control of insurance, uniform divorce laws, child-labor laws, and many others affecting matters formerly entirely within the cognizance of the States are proposed." And then this direful threat is made: "If the States fail to provide it [the control which they have the power to exercise] in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised—in the National Government."

That, in our criticism of Mr. Roosevelt, we did not "misstate and misrepresent" his belief—to the effect that many of the most important, the vital, powers of the States should be taken from them by the Federal Government for its own use, and that by unlawful constructions, or by usurpation, and not by orderly legal amendment—there is proof to be found in this speech of Mr. Root's and in a number of speeches by the President himself: as we have said, there was, indeed, proof of it in the very article in his strictures upon which Dr. Marsh denies, with explanatory heat, the truth of our criticism.

As to the remarks upon the constitutional propriety of the phrase touching the character of the Federal Government ("the Union was and is no more than a compact for mutual protection and helpfulness of sovereign bodies politic") there is need to say little. The phrase had no such meaning as is attributed to it in this letter. The fallacy in the old "compact" theory which, as Dr. Marsh says, the "war finally settled" was that the compact between the States was dissoluble, but that theory

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is now so long obsolete that no one refers to it even by indirection. The war certainly, however, did not destroy the sovereignty of the States. All government is an agent for the general welfare, while our Federal Union is also an agent for the States, which, in their spheres, as all the judges of the Supreme Court have always said, are as completely sovereign as is the Federal Government in its sphere. Dr. Marsh is led a good way by his feelings—as is illustrated by his apparent condemnation of the notion that ours is a union of sovereign States. He cannot mean this—although he seems to; for the Union is, indeed, a union of this character, as the Supreme Court has again declared in two cases decided within the year. And one word more; he who insists most strongly upon the rights of the States is he, as a rule, who will also insist most soundly, for he will discriminate accurately, upon the powers of the Federal Government.

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